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A

TRUE and EXACT

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Wars with Spain,

In the REIGN of

Q. ELIZABETH,

(Of Famous Memory.)

BEING

The Particulars of what happened between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, from the Years 1585 to 1602.

SHEWING

The Expeditions, Attempts, Fights, Deſigns, Eſcapes, Succeſſes, Errors, &c. on both ſides. With the Names of Her Majeſty's Ships and Commanders in every Fleet. Being a Patern and Warning to Future Ages.

Never Printed before.

Written by Sir William Monſon, *who was a Captain in moſt, and Admiral of ſeveral of thoſe Fleets in the ſaid Wars, and Dedicated to his Son.*

LONDON,

Printed for *W. Crooke*, and ſold by *W. Davis* in Amen Corner.

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M.DC.LXXXII

Sir *WILLIAM MONSON* TO HIS Son JOHN.

Dear Son,

THE Cuſtom of Dedicating Books hath been ancient, and they have been uſually dedicated either to Great Perſons, for protection or remuneration; or to Familiars, out of friendſhip and affection; or to Children, in reſpect of nature and for admonition. And to this end it is, that to you I commend the reading of the Diſcourſe following; that ſo beholding the 18 years War by Sea, which for want of years you could not then remember; and comparing them with the 18 years of Peace, in which you have lived, you may conſider three things. Firſt, that after ſo many pains and perils God hath lent Life to your Father to further your Education. Secondly, what proportion his recompence and rewards have had to his Services. Laſtly, what juſt cauſe you have to abandon the thoughts of ſuch dangerous and uncertain courſes; and that you may follow the enſuing Precepts, which I commend to your often peruſal.

And in the firſt place, I will put you in mind of the ſmall Means and Fortune I ſhall leave, that you may rate your Expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in reſpect I attained to it by my own endeavours and dangers, and therefore no body can challenge Intereſt in it but my ſelf, though your Carriage may promiſe the beſt poſſibility.

Beware you preſume not ſo much upon it, as thereby to grow diſobedient to your Parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the privilege of two years of age above your younger Brother; and in ſuch caſes Fathers are like Judges, that can and will diſtinguiſh of offences and deſerts according to truth, and will reward and puniſh as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

And becauſe you ſhall know it is no rare or new thing for a man to diſpoſe of his own, I will lay before you a Precedent of your own Houſe, that ſo often as you think of it, you may remember it with fear, and prevent it with care.

The Great Grandfather of your Grandfather was a Knight by Title, and *John* by name, which name we deſire to retain to our eldeſt Sons; God bleſſed him with many earthly Benefits, as Wealth, Children, and Reputation; his eldeſt Son was called *John* after his Father, and his ſecond *William* like to your ſelf and Brother; but upon what diſpleaſure I know not, (although we muſt judge the Son gave the occaſion) his Father left him the leaſt part of his Fortune, though ſufficient to equal the beſt Gentleman of his Shire, and particularly the ancient Houſe called after his name. His other Son *William* he inveſted with what your Uncle now enjoys. Both the Sons whileſt they lived carried the port and eſtimation of their Fathers Children, though afterwards it fell out that the Son of *John*, and Nephew to *William*, became diſobedient, negligent, and prodigal, and ſpent all his Patrimony; ſo that in concluſion he and his Son extinguiſhed their Houſe, and there now remains no memory of them. As for the ſecond Line and Race, of whom

your Uncle and I deſcended, we live as you ſee, though our Eſtates be not great, and of the two mine much the leaſt; which notwithſtanding is the greater to me in reſpect I atchieved it with the peril and danger of my Life; and you will make my contentment in the enjoyment of it the greater, if it be accompanied with that comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle ſhall be Arms. Know that Wars by Land or Sea are always accompanied with infinite dangers and diſaſters, and ſeldom rewarded according to Merit: For one Souldier that lives to enjoy that Preferment which becomes his right by Antiquity of Service, ten thouſand fall by the Sword and other caſualties: And if you compare that of a Souldier with any other Calling or Profeſſion, you will find much difference both in the reward and danger

Although Arms have been eſteemed in all Ages, and the more as there was greater occaſion to uſe them; yet you ſhall find they have been always ſubject to jealouſies and envy; Jealouſies from the State, if the General or other Officer grow great and popular; ſubject to envy from Inferiors, who through their perverſe and ill diſpoſitions malign other mens Merits.

The Advancement of Souldiers is commonly made by Councellors at home, whoſe eyes cannot witneſs the Services performed abroad; but a man is advanced as he is befriended, which makes the Souldiers Preferment as uncertain as his Life is caſual.

Compare the eſtate and advancement of Souldiers of our time but with the mean and mercenary Lawyer, and you ſhall find ſo great a difference, that I had rather you ſhould become Apprentice to the one, than make Profeſſion of the other.

A Captain that will ſeek to get the love of his Souldiers as his greateſt praiſe and felicity, of all other vices muſt deteſt and abandon Covetouſneſs; he muſt live by ſpending as the Miſer doth by ſparing; inſomuch as few of them can obtain by War wherewith to maintain themſelves in peace, and where Wealth wants Preferment fails.

Souldiers that live in peaceable Iſlands, as in *England*, their Profeſſion is undervalued, becaule we ſee not thoſe dangers which make the Souldiers neceſſary, as others do where Wars are practiſed. And the good ſucceſs in our Wars hath been ſuch as makes us attribute our Victories, not ſo much to Valour as to Chance.

I confeſs the baſe and ill behaviour of ſome Souldiers, hath made themſelves and their Callings the leſs eſteemed; for the name of a Captain, which was ever wont to be honourable, is now became a word of reproach and diſdain.

Souldiers may have Reputation, but little Credit; Reputation enough to defend their Honours, but little Truſt in Commerce of the World; and not without cauſe, for their ſecurity is the worſe, by how much the danger of death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferred before War, as the trade of a Merchant before that of the Factor. By Learning you are made ſenſible of the difference betwixt Men and other Creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By Learning you attain to the knowledge of Heavenly Myſteries, and you may frame your Life accordingly, as God ſhall give you grace. By Learning you are made capable of Preferment, if it concur with Virtue and Diſcretion; and the rather becauſe you are a Gentleman by birth, and of good Alliance, which I obſerve next to Money in this Golden Age is the ſecond ſtep to Advancement.

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For one that is preferred by Arms, there are twenty by Learning; and indeed the Souldier is but a Servant to the Learned, for after his many fought Battels, and as many dangers of his Life, he muſt yield account of his Actions, and be judged, corrected, and advanced as it ſhall pleaſe the other.

You may wonder to hear me extoll Learning ſo highly above my own Profeſſion, conſidering the poor Fortune I ſhall leave was atchieved by Arms; it is enough therefore to perſuade you what I ſay is not conjectural but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the natural affection of a Father to a Son would make me diſcover it to you, that you may follow that which is moſt probable and profitable.

Good Son, love Souldiers for your Countries ſake, who are the Defenders of it; for my ſake, who have made Profeſſion of it; but ſhun the practice of it as you will do Brawls, Quarrels, and Suits, which bring with them perplexities, and dangers.

There are many things to be ſhunned, as being perillous both to Body and Soul; as Quarrels and occaſions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuſes of our Age. Eſteem Valour as a ſpecial virtue, but ſhun Quarrelling as a moſt deteſtable vice. Of two evils it were better to keep company with a Coward than a Quarreller; the one is commonly ſociable and friendly, the other dangerous in his Acquaintance, and offenſive to Standers by. He is never free from peril, that is converſant with a Quarreller, either for offence given to himſelf, or to others wherein he may be engaged.

A true valiant man ſhall have enough to do to defend his own Reputation without engaging for others: nor are all valiant that will fight, therefore Diſcretion makes a difference betwixt Valour and Deſperateneſs. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a Gentleman, than to have a Quarrel, and yet nothing ſo ordinary as to give offence; it draweth with it many miſchiefs both to Body and Soul: being ſlain he is danger of damnation, and no leſs if he kill the other without great repentance. He ſhall perpetually live in danger of revenge from the Friends of the Party killed, and fall into the mercy of the Prince and Law where he liveth; but if for fear and baſeneſs he avoid and ſhun a Quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the foundation of other vices, it is the cauſe of Quarrels, and then follows Murders. It occaſions Swearing, Whoredom, and many other vices depend upon it.

When you behold a Drunkard, imagine you ſee a Beaſt in the ſhape of a Man. It is a humour that for the time pleaſeth the Party drunk, and ſo bereaves him of ſence, that he thinketh all he doth delighteth the Beholders; but the day following he buys his ſhame with repentance, and perhaps gives that offence in his drunkenneſs, that makes him hazard both Life and Reputation in a Quarrel. You have no man that will brag or boaſt ſo much of the word Reputation as a Drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a mans imputation than to be drunk.

A Drunkard is in the condition of an excommunicated perſon, whoſe Teſtimony betwixt Party and Party is of no validity. Avoid (good Son) the company of a Drunkard, and occaſions of drinking, then ſhall you live free without fear, and enjoy your own without hazard.

Whoredom is an incident to Drunkenneſs, though on the contrary all Whoremaſters are not Drunkards. It is a ſin not waſhed away without the vengeance of God to the third and fourth generation.

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Beſides the offence to God, it giveth a diſreputation to the party and his Of-ſpring, it occaſioneth a breach betwixt Man and Wife, encourageth the Wife oftentimes to follow the ill example of her Husband, and then enſueth Diſlike, Divorce, Diſinheriting of Children, Suits in Law, and Conſuming of Eſtates.

The next and worſt ſin I would have you ſhun is Swearing. I do not adviſe you like a Puritan, that ties a man more to the obſerving of Sundays, and from taking the Name of God in vain, than to all the reſt of the Commandments: but I wiſh you to avoid it for the greatneſs of the ſin it ſelf, for the Plague of God hangeth over the Houſe of the Blaſphemer. Swearing is odious to the Hearers, it giveth little credit to the words of him that uſeth it, it affordeth no pleaſure as other ſins do, nor yieldeth any profit to the party; Cuſtom begetteth it, and Cuſtom muſt make one leave it.

For your Exerciſes let them be of two kinds, the one of Mind, the other of Body; that of the Mind muſt conſiſt of Prayer, Meditation, and your Book; let your Prayers be twice a day, howſoever you diſpoſe of your ſelf the reſt of the time; Prayers work a great effect in a contrite and penitent Heart.

By this I do not ſeek to perſuade you from ſuch Exerciſes and Delights of body as are lawful and allowable in a Gentleman; for ſuch increaſe health and agility of body, make a man ſociable in company, and draw good Acquaintants; many times they bring a man into favour with a Prince, and prove an occaſion of preferment in his Marriage; they are often times a ſafeguard to a mans Life, as in vaulting ſuddenly upon a Horſe to eſcape an Enemy.

I will eſpecially commend unto you ſuch pleaſures as bring delight and content without charge; for others are fitter for greater men than one of your Fortune to follow.

Hawking and Hunting, if they be moderately uſed, are like Tobacco, in ſome caſes wholeſom for the Body, but in the common uſe both labourſom and loathſom; they alike bring one diſcommodity, (as comonly Vices do) that they are not ſo eaſily left as entertained.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young Bodies and Stomachs, and augments the heat of the Liver, which naturally you are ſubject to. It is offenſive to company, eſpecially the Breath of him that takes it; it drieth the Brain, and many become Fools with the continual uſe thereof.

Let your Apparel be handſom and decent, not curious nor coſtly. A wiſe man is more eſteemed in his plain Cloth than gay Clothing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich Suit than to wear one. A wiſe man eſteems more of a mans Vertues and Valour than of his Veſture; but ſeeing this Age is fantaſtical and changeable, you muſt faſhion your ſelf to it, but in ſo mean and moderate a manner, as to be rather praiſed for Frugality, than derided for Prodigality.

He that delights in curious Cloaths is an Imitator of a Player, who meaſures his Apparel by the part he acts. And as Players appear upon the Stage to be ſeen of the Spectators, ſo do the Gallants proclaim their Braveries in open Aſſemblies.

Whileſt I live and you not marry, I ſhall temper this Expence; but when I die remember what I ſay, ſeek Advancement rather by your carriage; the curiouſneſs, the reputation you gain by that will be laſting, when this will appear but like a Flower fading.

Frame your Courſe of Life to the Country and not to the Court; and yet make not your ſelf ſuch a ſtranger to great perſons, as in Aſſemblies they

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ſhould ask others who you are. I confeſs the greateſt and ſuddeneſt riſing is by the Court; yet the Court is like a hopeful and forward Spring, that is taken with a ſharp and cold Froſt, which nips and blaſts a whole Orchard except 2 or 3 Trees; for after that proportion commonly Courtiers are preferr'd. And he that will thrive at Court muſt make his dependency upon ſome great perſon, in whoſe Ship he muſt imbarque all his hopes; aud how unfortunate ſuch great perſons are oftentimes themſelves, and how unthankful to their Followers, we want not Precedents.

He that ſettles his Service upon one of them ſhall fall into the disfavour of another; for a Court is like an Army ever in War, ſtriving by ſtratagems to circumvent and kick up one anothers heels, You are not ignorant of the aptneſs of this Compariſon by what you know of me, whoſe caſe will ſerve you for a Proſpective-glaſs, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it. Yet reverence Lords becauſe they are Noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in virtue.

Be choice of your Company; for as a man makes election of them he is cenſured: Man lives by Reputation, and that failing he becomes a Monſter. Let your Company conſiſt of your own rank, rather better than worſe; for hold it for a Maxim, The better Gentleman the more gentle in his behaviour.

Beware they be not accuſed of Crimes, for ſo it may touch you in Credit; and if you loſe your Reputation in the bud of your Youth, you ſhall ſcarce recover it in the whole courſe of your Life. Let them be civil in carriage, for commonly ſuch men are ſenſible above all; let them be learned, for Learning is a Fountain from whence ſprings another Life; let them be temperate in Diet and Expence, ſo ſhall you learn to live in health, and increaſe in wealth.

Beware they be not cholerick in diſpoſition, or arrogant in Opinion; for ſo you ſhall become a Slave to their Humours, and baſe by ſuffering. A cholerick man of all others is the worſt Companion, for he cannot temper his rage, but on any ſlight occaſion of a Friend becomes an Enemy. Value true Friendſhip next to Marriage, which nothing but Death can diſſolve; for the fickleneſs of Friendſhip is oftentimes the ruine of ones Fortune.

Beware of Gaming, for it cauſes great vexation of Mind. If you loſe, it begets in you that humour, that out of hope of regaining your loſſes, you will endanger the loſs of all. Do not preſume too much of your skill in Play, or making wagers as if you were excellent above others, or have Fortune at command; for ſhe is like a Whore variable and inconſtant, and when ſhe disfavours you, it is with more loſs at once than ſhe recompenceth at twice.

Love your Brother and Siſters for their own ſakes, as you are bound by Nature, but eſpecially for mine whoſe they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God choſe you from the reſt to be a ſtrength and ſtay to them; think you cannot honour your Father more being dead, than in ſhewing affection to them he dearly loved; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than love and kindneſs amongſt your ſelves. You owe ſomewhat more to me than that I am your Father, in that I ſeek your Advancement above theirs, of which Obligation I will acquit you conditionally you perform what you ought to them. For becauſe Man cannot himſelf live ever, he deſires to live in his Poſterity; and if I had an hundred Sons, my greateſt hope muſt depend upon you as you are my eldeſt, and ſeeing my care is of you above the reſt, do not make my Memory ſo unhappy, as to give the World an occaſion to ſay, I left an unnatural Son.

The onely requeſt I make is, be kind and loving to them, who I know by their diſpoſition will give you no cauſe of offence. A diſcourteſie from you will be as ſharp to them as a Razor from another.

Be courteous and friendly to all, for men are eſteemed according to ther carriage. There is an old Proverb, *The courteſie of the mouth is of great value, and coſts little.* A proud man is envied of his Equals, hated by his Inferious, and ſcorned by his Superiours; ſo that betwixt Envy, Hate, and Scorn he is friendleſs.

Many times a man is condemned to death out of preſumption, eſpecially when it concurrs with an opinion of his former ill carriage: how much therefore doth it concern a man in the times of his Proſperity to lay up a ſtock of Love and Reputation?

There cannot be a greater Honour than to gain a mans Enemy by a courteſie; it far exceeds the kindneſs that is done to another, and doubly obligeth him that receiveth it. Love is a thing deſired by a King from his Subjects, by a General from his Souldiers, and by a Maſter from his Servants; he that hath it is rich by it, it maintains peace in time of peace, and is a ſafe Bulwork in time of war.

Do not buy this Love with the ruine of your Eſtate, as many do with prodigal Expences, and then are requited with pity and deriſion. Let your Expence be agreeable to the wearing of your Cloaths, better or worſe according to Company; or the journying your Horſe, the leſs way you go to day, you may travel the further to morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearisom Journey, your Horſe will fail, and you be enforc'd to go on foot. And ſo will it be in your Expences, if you do not moderate them according to Days and Companies, your Horſe and you may travel faintly together.

If you are prodigal in any thing, let it be in Hoſpitality, as moſt agreeable to the will of God, you ſhall feed the hungry, relieve the poor, and get the love of the rich. What you ſpend among your Neighbours is not loſt, but procures their loves and helps when you have need, and thereby you ſhall find Friendſhip in the Country as available as Favour at Court.

If you are called to any place of Magiſtracy, do juſtice with pity, revenge not your ſelf of your Enemy under colour of Authority, for that ſhews baſeneſs, and will procure you hatred. In Money matters favour your Country, if it be not againſt the preſent profit of the King, for many times his Name is uſed for the gain of other men.

Study the Laws, not to make a mercenary practice of them, but onely for your own uſe, the good of your Neighbours, and the Government of your Country. Hold the Laws in reverence next to the King; for that Kingdom is well governed where the King is ruled by the Laws, not the Laws by the King.

Be not preſumptuous in your Command, yet ſeek to be obeyed as you deſire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate Controverſies among your Neighbours, and you ſhall gain their Love, which will more avail you than the hate of the Lawyers can hurt you.

Puniſh Idleneſs and other vices, as well for that they are ſuch, as for examples ſake. Gain love by doing Juſtice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate profit.

If you marry after my death, chuſe a Wife as near as you can ſuitable to your Calling, Years, and Condition; for ſuch Marriages are made in Heaven, though celebrated on Earth.

If your Eſtate were great, your choice might be the freer; but where the preferment of your Siſters muſt depend upon your Wives Portion, let not your Fancy overrule your Neceſſity. It is an old Saying, *He that marrieth for love hath evil days and good nights:* Conſider if you marry for Affection, how long you will be raiſing Portions for your Siſters, and the miſery you ſhall live in all the days of your life; for the greateſt Fortune that a man can expect is in his Marriage. A wiſe man is known by his actions, but where Paſſion and Affection ſway, that man is deprived of ſence and underſtanding.

It is not the Poverty or Meanneſs of her that's married that makes her the better Wife, for commonly ſuch Women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a Mariner is of his eſcape from a danger at Sea when it is paſt. You muſt ſet your Wife a good example by your own carriage, for a wiſe and diſcreet Husband uſually makes an obedient and dutiful Wife. Beware of Jealouſie, for it cauſeth great vexation of mind, and ſcorn and laughter from your Enemies.

Many times it is occaſioned by the behaviour of the Husband towards other Women: in that caſe do like the Phyſician, take away the cauſe of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the ſmart of it. Jealouſie is grounded upon conceit and imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and diſtempered Brain; and the unworthy carriage of him that is jealous, many times maketh a Woman do what otherwiſe ſhe would not.

If God be pleaſed to give you Children, love them with that diſcretion that they diſcern it not, leſt they too much preſume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The love of God to Man cannot be better expreſſed, than by that of a Father to his Children. Comforts or Croſſes they prove to their Parents, and herein Education is a great help to Nature.

Let your Children make you to diſreliſh and abandon all other delights and pleaſures of the world, in reſpect of the comfort and joy you receive by them. Make account then that Somer is paſt, and the melancholy Winter approacheth; for a careful and provident Father cannot take delight in the world and provide for his Children.

For a concluſion I will recommend two principal Virtues to you, the one is Secrecy, the other Patience. Secrecy is neceſſarily required in all, eſpecially publick perſons, for many times they are truſted with things, the revealing whereof may coſt them their lives, and hinder the deſigns of their Maſters. It is a folly to truſt any man with a ſecret, that can give no aſſiſtance in the buſineſs he is truſted with. Councellors of State and Generals, of Armies, of all other ought to be moſt ſecret, for their deſigns being once diſcovered, their Enterprizes fail. Silence was ſo much eſteemed among the *Perſians*, that ſhe was adored for a Goddeſs. The *Romans* kept their Expeditions ſo ſecret, as that alone was a principal cauſe of their Victories. But of all others truſt not Women with a Secret, for the weakneſs of their Sex makes them unſecret. Be patient after the example of *Job*, and you ſhall become a true Servant of God. Patience deſerveth to be painted with a Sword in her hand, for ſhe conquers and ſubdues all difficulties. If you will take advantage of your Enemy, make him cholerick, and by patience you ſhall overcome him.

Marcus Aurelius being both Emperour and Philoſopher confeſſed, he attained not the Empire by Philoſophy but by Patience. What man in the world was ever ſo patient as our Saviour himſelf, by following whoſe example his Miniſters have converted more by their words, then all the perſe-

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cuting Emperours could deterr by rigour or cruelty of Laws. The impatient man conteſts with God himſelf, who giveth and taketh away at his good will and pleaſure.

Let me (good Son) be your Patern of Patience, for you can witneſs with me, that the Diſgraces I have unjuſtly ſuffered, (my Eſtate being through my misfortunes ruined, my Health by impriſonments decayed, and my Services undervalued and unrecompenſed) have not bred the leaſt diſtaſte or diſcontent in me, or altered my reſolution from my infancy; that is, I was never ſo baſe as to inſinuate into any mans favour, who was favoured by the times. I was never ſo ambitious as to ſeek or crave Imployment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and onely comfort is, that I ſerved my Princes both faithfully and fortunately; but ſeeing my Services have been no better accepted, I can as well content my ſelf in being a Spectator, as if I were an Actor in the world.

Before I treat of the Sea I will ſhew what Laws *Richard* the Firſt eſtabliſhed in his Expedition by Sea, which in ſome points are obſerved to this day.

1. *That whoſoever ſhould kill a man, ſhould be tied to him killed, and thrown into the Sea with him.*

2. *If any be killed on Land, the party to be buried alive with him killed.*

3. *Whoſoever ſhall ſtrike another, and not draw bloud, ſhall be duck'd three times at the Yards Arm.*

4. *Whoſoever revileth or curſeth another, ſo often as he revileth ſhall pay an ounce of Silver.*

5. *Whoſoever draweth his Knife, or draweth Bloud, ſhall loſe his Hand.*

6. *Whoſoever doth ſteal, ſhall have his Head ſhorn, and boiled Pitch poured upon it, and Feathers ſtrewed upon the ſame, whereby he may be known; and at the firſt Landing-place he ſhall be towed on ſhore.*

A Yearly Account of the Engliſh and Spaniſh Fleets, which were ſet forth from the Year 1585, *when the Wars with* Spain *firſt began, untill the Year* 1602, *when King* James *made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom; ſhewing the Deſigns, Eſcapes, and Errors on both Engliſh and Spaniſh ſides, with the Names of the Queens Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.*

A Voyage of Sir Francis Drake *to the Weſt Indies, Anno Dom.* 1585.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Elizabeth Bonaventure	*Sir Francis Drake.*
The Ayde	*Capt. Forbiſher.*
	Capt. Carlee Lieutenant General by Land.

UPon the knowledge of the Imbargo made by the King of *Spain* in *Anno* 1585, of the Engliſh Ships, Men, and Goods found in his Country; Her Majeſty having no means to help or relieve her Subjects by friendly Treaty, authorized ſuch as ſuſtained loſs by the ſaid Arreſt, to repair themſelves upon the Subjects of the King of *Spain*; and to that end gave them Letters of Repriſal, to take and arreſt all Ships and Merchandizes that they ſhould find at Sea, or elſewhere, belonging to the Vaſſals of the ſaid King.

Her Majeſty at the ſame time to revenge the wrongs offered her, and to reſiſt the King of *Spains* Preparations made againſt her equipped a Fleet of 25 Sail of Ships, and imployed them under the command of Sir *Francis Drake*, as the fitteſt man by reaſon of his Experience and Succeſs in ſundry Actions.

It is not my intent to ſet down all the particulars of the Voyages treated of, but the Services done, and the Eſcapes and Overſights paſt, as a warning to thoſe that ſhall read them, and to prevent the like Errors hereafter.

This Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* being the firſt undertaking on either ſide, (for it enſued immediately after the Arreſt of our Ships and Goods in *Spain*) I will deliver my Opinion of it, before I proceed any further.

One impediment to the Voyage was, that to which the ill ſucceſs of divers others that after followed, is to be imputed, *viz.* the want of Victuals and other neceſſaries fit for ſo great an Expedition; for had not the Fleet by chance met with a Ship laden with Fiſh, that came from *New found Land*, which relieved their neceſſities, they would have found themſelves reduced to great extremity.

The Service that was performed in this Action, was the taking and ſacking *Sancta Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, *Cartagena* in *Terra firma*, and the *Fonta aqua* in *Florida*; three Towns of great importance in the *Weſt Indies*. This Fleet

was the greateſt of any Nation but the *Spaniards*, that had been ever ſeen in thoſe Seas ſince the firſt diſcovery of them; and if it had been as well conſidered of before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the Valour of the Undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of *Spain*, than all other Actions that enſued during the time of the War.

But it ſeems our long Peace made us uncapable of advice in War; for had we kept and defended thoſe places being in our poſſeſſion, and provided to have been relieved and ſuccoured out of *England*, we had diverted the war from this part of *Europe*: for at that time there was no compariſon betwixt the ſtrength of *Spain* and *England* by Sea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more eaſe incroached upon the reſt of the *Indies*, than the King of *Spain* could have aided or ſuccoured them.

But now we ſee and find by experience, that thoſe places which were then weak and unfortified, are ſince ſo ſtrengthened, as it is bootleſs to undertake any Action to annoy the King of *Spain* in his *Weſt Indies*.

And though this Voyage proved both fortunate and victorious, yet conſidering it was rather an awakening than a weakning of him, it had been far better to have wholly declined it, than to have undertaken it upon ſuch ſlender grounds, and with ſo inconſiderable Forces.

The ſecond Voyage of Sir Francis Drake *to the Road of* Cadiz, *and towards the Iſlands of* Tercera, *Anno* 1587.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Elizabeth Bonaventure	*Sir Francis Drake, General.*
The Lyon	*Sir William Borrough, Vice Admiral.*
The Rainbow	*Capt. Bellingam.*
The Dread-nought	*Capt. Thomas Fenner.*

HER Majeſty having received ſeveral Advertiſements, that while the King of *Spain* was ſilent, not ſeeking revenge for the injuries the Ships of Reprisal did him daily upon his Coaſts, he was preparing an invincible Army to invade her at home. She thereupon ſought to fruſtrate his deſigns, by intercepting his Proviſions before they ſhould come to *Lisbon*, which was their place of Rendezvouz, and ſent away Sir *Francis Drake* with a Fleet of 30 Sail great and ſmall, 4 whereof were her own Ships.

The chief Adventure in this Voyage (beſides thoſe 4 Ships of Her Majeſties) was made by the Merchants of *London*, who ſought their private gain more than the advancement of the Service; neither were they deceived of their expectation.

Sir *Francis Drake* underſtanding by two Ships of *Middleborough*, that came from *Cadiz*, of a Fleet with Victuals, Munition, and other habiliments for War, riding there, ready to take the firſt opportunity of a wind, to go to *Lisbon* and joyn with other Forces of the King of *Spain*, he directed his courſe for *Cadiz* Road, where he found the Advertiſement he received from the Ships of *Middleborough* in every point true; and upon his arrival attempted the Ships with great courage, and performed the Service he went for,

for, by deſtroying all ſuch Ships as he found in Harbour, as well of the *Spaniards* as other Nations that were hired by them; and by theſe means he utterly defeated their mighty Preparations which were intended againſt *England* that year 1587.

The ſecond Service performed by him was, the aſſaulting the Caſtle of *Cape Sacre*, upon the utmoſt Promontory of *Portugal*, and three other ſtrong Holds; all which he took ſome by force, and ſome by compoſition. From thence he went to the mouth of the River of *Lisbon*, where he anchored near *Caske Cadiz*; which the Marqueſs of *St. Cruze* beholding, durſt not with his Gallies approach ſo near as once to charge him.

Sir *Francis Drake* perceiving, that though he had done important Service for the State by this fortunate Attempt of his, yet the ſame was not very acceptable to the Merchants, who adventured onely in hope of Profit, and preferred their private gain before the ſecurity of the Kingdom, or any other reſpect. Therefore from *Caske Cadiz* he ſtood to the Iſlands of *Tercera*, to expect the coming home of a *Carreck*; which he had intelligence wintered at *Moſambique*, and conſequently ſhe was to be home in that moneth. And though his Victuals grew ſcarce, and his Company importuned his return home, yet with gentle Speeches he perſuaded, and ſo much prevailed with them, that they were willing to expect the iſſue ſome few days at the Iſlands; and by this time drawing near the Iſland of *S. Michael*, it was his good fortune to meet and take the *Carrack* he looked for; which added more Honour to his former Service, and gave great content to the Merchants, to have a profitable Return of their Adventure, which was the thing they principally deſired. This Voyage proceeded proſperouſly and without exception, for there was both Honour and Wealth gained, and the Enemy greatly endamaged.

The firſt Action undertaken by the Spaniards *was in* 1588, *the Duke of* Medina *General, who were encountered by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himſelf in perſon.*

Ships.	Commanders.
The Ark Royal	*The Lord Admiral.*
The Revenge	*Sir Francis Drake, Vice Admiral.*
The Lyon	*The Lord Thomas Howard.*
The Bear	*The Lord Sheffeild.*
The Elizabeth Jonas	*Sir Robert Southwell.*
The Triumph	*Sir Martin Forbiſher.*
The Victory	*Sir John Hawkins.*
The Hope	*Capt. Croſſe.*
The Bonaventure	*Capt. Reyman.*
The Dread-nought	*Capt. George Beeſton.*
The Nouperil	*Capt. Thomas Fenner.*
The Rainbow	*The Lord Henry Seymore.*
The Vanntguard	*Sir William Winter.*
The Mary Roſe	*Capt. Fenton.*

The

The Antilope	*Sir Henry Palmer.*
The Foreſight	
The Ayde	*Capt. Barker.*
The Swallow	
The Tyger	*Capt. Fenner.*
The Scout	
The Swiftſure	*Capt. Hawkins.*
The Bull	
The Tremontary	*Capt. Boſtock.*
The Acatice	
Pinnaces, Gallies, Hoyes——10	*Capt. Aſhley.*

NOtwithſtanding the great ſpoil and hurt Sir *Francis Drake* did the year paſt in *Cadiz* Road, by intercepting ſome part of the Proviſions intended for this great Navy, the King of *Spain* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to revenge himſelf this year, leſt in taking longer time his Deſigns might be prevented as before, and arreſted all Ships, Men, and neceſſaries wanting for his Fleet, and compell'd them per force to ſeave in this Action.

He appointed for General the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a man imployed rather for his Birth than Experience; for ſo many Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earls, voluntarily going, would have repined to have been commanded by a man of leſs quality than themſelves. They departed from *Lisbon* the 19th. day of *May* 1588, with the greateſt pride and glory, and leaſt doubt of Victory, that ever any Nation did; but God being angry with their inſolence, diſpoſed of them contrary to their expectation.

The directions from the King of *Spain* to his General were, to repair as wind and weather would give leave, to the Road of *Callice* in *Piccardy*, there to abide the coming of the Prince of *Parma* and his Army, and upon their meeting to have opened a Letter directed to them both with further Inſtructions.

He was eſpecially commanded to ſail along the Coaſts of *Brittany* and *Normandy*, to avoid being diſcovered by us here; and if he met with the *Engliſh* Fleet, not to offer to fight, but onely ſeek to defend themſelves. But when he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary wind and foul weather, and forced into the Harbour of the *Groyne*, where part of his Fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had intelligence by an *Engliſh* Fiſherman, whom they took Priſoner, of our Fleets late being at Sea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that year; inſomuch that moſt part of the Men belonging to our Ships were diſcharged.

This Intelligence made the Duke alter his Reſolution, and to break the Directions given him by the King; yet this was not done without ſome difficulty, for the Council was divided in their Opinions, ſome held it beſt to obſerve the Kings Command, others not to loſe the opportunity offered to ſurprize our Fleet unawares, and burn and deſtroy them.

Diego Flores de Valdos, who had the command of the *Andaluſian* Squadron, and on whom the Duke moſt relied, becauſe of his experience and judgment, was the main man that perſuaded the Attempt of our Ships in Harbour, and with that reſolution they directed their courſe for *England*.

The firſt Land they fell with was the *Lizard*, the Southermoſt part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Rams Head* athwart *Plymouth*, and the night being at hand they tacked off to Sea, making account in the morning to make an Attempt upon our Ships in *Plymouth*. But

But whileſt they were thus deceived in the Land, they were in the mean time diſcovered by Capt. *Flemminge* a Pyrat, who had been at Sea pilfering, and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spaniſh* Fleet, repaired with all ſpeed to *Plymouth*, and gave warning and notice to our Fleet, who were then riding at Anchor; whereupon my Lord Admiral haſtned with all poſſible expedition to get forth the Ships, and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plymouth*, they were welcomed at Sea by my Lord and his Navy, who continued fight with them untill he brought them to an Anchor at *Callice*. The particulars of the Fight, and the Succeſſes thereof, being things ſo well known, I purpoſely omit.

While this Armado was preparing, Her Majeſty had from time to time perfect intelligence of the *Spaniards* Deſigns; and becauſe ſhe knew his intent was to invade her at Sea with a mighty Fleet from his own Coaſt, ſhe furniſhed out her Royal Navy under the Conduct of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and ſent him to *Plymouth*, as the likelieſt place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the Fleet alone that could endanger her ſafety, for that they were too weak for any Enterprize on Land, without the aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Parma*, and his Army in *Flanders*; therefore ſhe appointed 30 Sail of *Holland* Ships to lie at an Anchor before the Town of *Dunkirk*, where the Prince was to imbarque in Flat-bottom'd Boats, made purpoſely for the Expedition of *England*.

Thus had the Prince by the Queens Providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of Harbour with his Boats; but in truth neither his Veſſels nor his Army were in readineſs, which cauſed the King ever after to be jealous of him, and as 'tis ſuppoſed to haſten his end.

Her Majeſty, notwithſtanding this her vigilant care to foreſee and prevent all danger that might happen at Sea, would not hold her ſelf too ſecure of her Enemy, and therefore prepared a Royal Army to welcom him upon his Landing; but it was not the will of God that he ſhould ſet foot on *Engliſh* ground, the Queen becoming Victorious over him at Sea, with little hazard or bloudſhed of her Subjects.

Having ſhewed the Deſign of the *Spaniards*, and the courſe taken by Her Majeſty to prevent them; I will now collect the Errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promiſed in the beginning of my Diſcourſe.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the Duke had gotten intelligence of the ſtate of our Navy, than his deſign to ſurprize them unawares in Harbour, he well knowing that if he had taken away our ſtrength by Sea, he might have landed both when and where he liſted, which is a great advantage to an Invader; yet admitting it had took that effect he deſigned, I ſee not how he was to be commended in breaking the Inſtructions given him by the King, what blame then did he deſerve, when ſo ill an event followed by his raſhneſs and diſobedience?

It was not the want of Experience in the Duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes*, that excuſed him at his return; but he had ſmarted bitterly for it, had it not been for his Wife, who obtained the Kings favour for him.

Before th'Arrival of the Ships that eſcaped in this Voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores de Valdes* was he who perſuaded the Duke to break the Kings Inſtructions; whereupon the King gave commandment in all his Ports, where the ſaid *Diego Flores de Valdes* might arrive, to appreheud him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Caſtle of *Sancta Andrea*, and was never ſeen or heard of after.

If the Kings Directions had been punctually followed, then had his Fleet kept the Coaſt of *France*, and arrived in the Road of *Callice* before they had been diſcovered by us, which might have endangered Her Majeſty and the Realm, our Ships being ſo far off as *Plymouth*, where then they lay; and though the Prince of *Parma* had not been preſently ready, yet he had gained time ſufficient by the abſence of our Fleet to make himſelf ready.

And whereas the Prince was kept in by the 30 Sail of *Hollanders*, ſo many of the Dukes Fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the Road of *Dunkirk*, and poſſeſt it themſelves, and ſo have ſecured the Army and Fleets meeting together; and then how eaſie it had been after their joyning to have tranſported themſelves for *England*? And what would have enſued upon their Landing here may be well imagined.

But it was the will of him that directs all men and their actions, that the Fleets ſhould meet, and the Enemy be beaten as they were, put from their Anchorage in *Callice* Road, the Prince of *Parma* beleaguered at Sea, and their Navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loſs; which ſheweth how God did marvellouſly defend us againſt their dangerous Deſigns.

And here was opportunity offered us to have followed the Victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the Road at *Callice*, and all their hopes and deſigns fruſtrated; if we had once more offered them fight, the General by perſuaſion of his Confeſſor was determined to yield, whoſe example 'tis very likely would have made the reſt to have done the like. But this opportunity was loſt, not through the negligence or backwardneſs of the Lord Admiral, but merely through the want of Providence in thoſe that had the charge of furniſhing and providing for the Fleet; for at that time of ſo great advantage, when they came to examine their Proviſions, they found a general ſcarcity of Powder and Shot, for want whereof they were forced to return home. Another opportunity was loſt not much inferiour to the other, by not ſending part of our Fleet to the Weſt of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of neceſſity were to paſs after ſo many dangers and diſaſters as they had endured.

If we had been ſo happy as to have followed this courſe, as it was both thought and diſcourſed of; we had been abſolutely victorious over this great and formidable Navy, for they were brought to that neceſſity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confeſs'd that were ſhipwreck'd in *Ireland*.

By this we may ſee how weak and feeble the deſigns of Men are, in reſpect of the Creator of Man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the two Nations, ſometimes giving one, ſometimes the other, the advantage; and yet ſo that he onely ordered the Battel.

The Action of Portugal, 1589.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commanders by Land.
The Revenge	*Sir Francis Drake*	*Sir John Norris*
The Dread-nought	*Capt. Thomas Fenner*	*Sir Edward Norris*
The Ayde	*Capt. William Fenner*	*Sir Henry Norris*
The Nonperil	*Capt. Sackvile*	*Sir Roger Williams*
The Foreſight	*Capt. William Winter*	*Serjeant Major*
The Swift ſure	*Capt. Goring*	*Earl of Eſſex Voluntier*

THE laſt overthrow of 1588 given to the Invincible Fleet, as they termed themſelves, did ſo encourage every man to the War, as happy was he that could put himſelf into Action againſt the *Spaniards*, as it appeared by the Voluntiers that went in this Voyage; which the Queen (conſidering the great loſs the King of *Spain* received in the year paſt, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided at home) was willing to countenance, though ſhe undertook it not wholly her ſelf, which was the main cauſe of its ill ſucceſs and overthrow.

For whoſoever he be of a Subject, that thinks to undertake ſo great an Enterpriſe without a Prince's Purſe, ſhall be deceived; and therefore theſe two Generals in my opinion never overſhot themſelves more, than in undertaking ſo great a charge with ſo little means; for where there are Victuals and Arms wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The project of this Voyage was to reſtore a diſtreſſed King to his Kingdom, uſurped as he pretended; and though the means for the ſetting forth of this Voyage was not ſo great as was expedient; yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their courſe whither they intended it, without landing at the *Groyne*, they had performed the Service they went for, reſtored *Don Antonio* to the Crown of *Portugal*, diſſevered it from *Spain*, and united it in League with *England*, which would have anſwered the preſent charge, and have ſettled a continual Trade for us to the *Weſt Indies*, and the reſt of the *Portugals* Dominions, for ſo we might eaſily have conditioned.

But the Landing at the *Groyne* was an unneceſſary lingering and hinderance of the other great and main deſign, a conſuming of Victuals, a weakning of the Army by the immoderate drinking of the Souldiers, which brought a lamentable Sickneſs amongſt them, a warning to the *Spaniards* to ſtrengthen *Portugal*, and (as great as all this) a diſcouragement to proceed further being repulſed in the firſt Attempt.

But notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs at the *Groyne*, they departed from thence towards *Portugal*, and arrived at *Penech*, a Maritime Town twelve Leagus from *Lisbon*, where with a ſmall reſiſtance they took the Caſtle, after the Captain underſtood *Don Antonio* to be in the Army.

From thence General *Norris* marched with his Land Forces to *Lisbon*, and Sir *Francis Drake* with his Fleet ſailed to *Caske Cadiz*, promiſing from thence to paſs with his Ships up the River to *Lisbon*, to meet with Sir *John Norris*; which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blamed by the general conſent of all men, the overthrow of the Action being imputed to him.

It

It will not excuſe Sir *Francis Drake*, for making ſuch a Promiſe to Sir *John Norris*, though, on the other hand, I would have accuſed him of great want of Diſcretion, if he had put the Fleet to ſo great an Adventure to ſo little purpoſe: For his being in the Harbor of *Lisbon*, ſignified nothing to the Taking of the Caſtle, which was two Miles from thence; and had the Caſtle been taken, the Town would have been taken of courſe.

Beſides, the Ships could not furniſh the Army with more Men or Victuals: wherefore I underſtand not in what Reſpect his going up was neceſſary; and yet the Fleet muſt have endured many Hazards to this little purpoſe.

For betwixt *Cask Cadiz* and *Lisbon*, there are three Caſtles, St. *John*, St. *Francis*, and *Bellin*. The firſt of the three, I hold one of the moſt impregnable Forts to Sea-ward in *Europe*; and the Fleet was to paſs within Calliver Shot of this Fort; though I confeſs, the paſſing it, was not the greateſt Dander: For with a reaſonable Gale of Wind, any Fort is to be paſsed with ſmall Hazard.

But at this time there was a General Want of Victuals; and being once entred the Harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being ſubject to contrary Winds: In the mean while, the better part of the Victuals would have been conſumed, and they would have remained there in ſo deſperate a Condition, as they would have been forced to have fired one half of the Fleet, for the bringing home of the reſt: for being as they were, yet after the Army was imbarqued for *England*, many died of Famine Homeward, and more would have done, if the Wind had took them ſhort; or, if by the Death of ſome of them, the reſt who ſurvived had not been the bettr relieved.

And beſides all theſe Caſualties and Dangers, the *Adilantado* was then in *Lisbon* with the Gallies of *Spain*; and how eaſily he might have annoyed our Fleet, by towing Fire-ſhips amongſt us: We may ſuppoſe the Hurt we did the *Spaniards* the Year before in *Cadiz* Road; and greater we had done them, had we had the Help of Gallies.

It was a wonder to obſerve every man's Opinion of this Voyage, as well thoſe that were Actors in it, as others that ſtaid at Home; ſome imputing the Overthrow of it, to the Landing at the *Groyn*; others to the *Portugalls* failing us of thoſe Helps and Aſſiſtances which were promiſed by *Don Antonio*; and others, to Sir *Francis Drake*'s not coming up the River with his Fleet.

Though any of theſe three Reaſons may ſeem probable enough, and the Landing at the *Groyn*, the chiefeſt of the three; yet if we weigh truly the Defect, and where it was, it will appear, that the Action was overthrown before their ſetting out from Home, they being too weakly provided of all things needful for ſo great an Expedition.

For when this Voyage was firſt treated of, the Number of Ships was nothing equal to the Proportion of Men: Wherefore they were forced to make Stay of divers *Eaſterlings* which they met with in our Channel, and compelled to ſerve in this Action, for the Tranſportation of our Souldiers; and though theſe Ships were an Eaſe to our Men, who would have been otherwiſe much peſtered for want of Room; yet their Victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put aboard the Ships, like baniſhed men, to ſeek their Fortunes at Sea, it being confeſſed, that divers of the Ships had not four days Victuals when they departed from *Plymouth*.

Another

Another Impediment to the good Succeſs of this Voyage, was, the want of Field-Pieces; and this was the main Cauſe why we failed of taking *Liſbon*: For the Enemies Strength conſiſting chiefly in the Caſtle, and we having only an Army to countenance us, but no means for Battery, we were the Loſs of the Victory our ſelves: For it was apparent by Intelligence we received, that if we had preſented them with Battery, they were reſolved to parly, and by Conſequence to yield; and this too was made uſe of by the *Portugalls*, as a main Reaſon why they joyned not with us.

And there is as much to be ſaid on the *Portugalls* behalf, as an Evidence of their good Will and Favor to us, that though they ſhewed themſelves forward upon this Occaſion, to aid us, yet they oppoſed not themſelves as Enemies againſt us: Whereas if they had purſued us in our Retreat from *Lisbon* to *Cask Cadiz*, our Men being weak, ſickly, and wanting Powder, and Shot, and other Arms, they had in all probability put us to a great Loſs and Diſgrace. And if ever *England* have the like Occaſion to aid a Competitor in *Portugal*, we ſhall queſtionleſs, find, that our fair Demeanor and Carriage in this Expedition towards the People of that Countrey, have gained us great Reconciliation among them, and would be of ſingular Advantage to us: For the General ſtrictly forbad the Rifling of their Houſes in the Country, and the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, which he poſſeſs'd, and commanded, juſt Payment to be made by the Souldiers for every thing they took, without Compulſion, or rigorous Uſage: And this hath made thoſe that ſtood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like Occaſion to aſſiſt us.

A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, *with one Ship Royal of her Majeſties, and ſix of his own, and of other Adventures, Anno Dom.* 1589.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Victory	*The Earl of Cumberland*
The Margaret,	*Capt. Chriſtopher Liſter*
And Five other	*Capt. Monſon, now Sir William Monſon, Vice-Amiral.*

AS the Fleets of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, returned from the Voyage of *Portugal*, my Lord of *Cumberland* proceeded upon his, towards that Coaſt, and meeting with divers of that Fleet, relieved them with Victuals, who otherwiſe had periſhed.

This Voyage was undertaken at his and his Friends Charge, excepting the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the Queen's, which ſhe adventured.

The Service performed at Sea, was the taking of three *French* Ships of the League in our Channel, and his encountring upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, with Thirteen Hulks, who made ſome Reſiſtance. Out of theſe he took to the Value of 7000 *l.* in Spices belonging to *Portugal*.

From thence he croſſed over to the Iſland of *Terceras*, and coming to *St. Michaels*, with Boats he fetched out two *Spaniſh* Ships from under the Caſtle, which the ſame Night arrived out of *Spain*.

In this Courſe, from thence to *Flores*, he took a *Spaniſh* Ship, laden with Sugars and Sweet-meats that came from the *Maderas*.

Being at *Flores*, he received Intelligencence of divers *Spaniſh* Ships, which were in the Road of *Fayal*, whereupon he ſuddainly made from that Iſland, where Captain *Liſter* and Captain *Monſon* gave a deſperate Attempt in their Boats upon the ſaid Ships; and after along Fight poſſeſſed themſelves of one of them of 300 Tuns Burden, carrying Eighteen Pieces of Ordidinance, and Fifty Men. This Ship, with one other, came from the *Indies*, two of the reſt out of *Guiney*, and another was Laden with Woad which that Iſland affords in great Plenty; who putting from thence to Sea, and coming to the Iſland of *Gracioſa*. after two days Fight, yielded us by Compoſition ſome Victuals: Off that Iſland we likewiſe took a *French* Ship of the *League*, of 200 Tuns, that came from *New-found-land*.

Afterwards, Sailing to the *Eaſtward* of the Road of *Terceras*, in the Even we beheld 18 Tall Ships of the *Indies*, entring into the ſaid Road, one whereof we after took in her Courſe to the Coaſt of *Spain*: She was laden with Hides, Silver and Cochineal; but coming for *England*, ſhe was caſt away upon the *Monnts Bay* in *Cornwall*, being valued at 100000 *l.*

Two other Prizes of Sugar we took in our ſaid Courſe to the Coaſt of *Spain*, eſteemed each Ship at 7000 *l.* and one from under the Caſtle of St. *Maries* to the ſame Value.

There was no Road about thoſe Iſlands, that could defend their Ships from our Attempts; yet in the laſt Aſſault we gave, which was upon a Ship of Sugars, we found ill Succeſs, being ſharply reſiſted, and two parts of our Men ſlain and hurt: Which Loſs was occaſioned by Captain *Liſter*, who would not be perſuaded from Landing in the View of their Forts.

The Service performed by Land, was the taking of the Iſland of *Fayall*, ſome months after the ſurprizing of thoſe Ships formerly mentioned. The Caſtle yielded us 45 Pieces of Ordinance, great and ſmall: We ſacked and ſpoiled the Town, and after ranſomed it, and ſo departed.

Theſe Summer Services, and Ships of Sugar, proved not ſo ſweet and pleaſant as the Winter was afterwards ſharp and painful: For in our Return for *England*, we found the Calamity of Famine, the Hazard of Shipwrack, and the Death of our Men ſo great, that the like befell not any other Fleet during the time of the War. All which Diſaſters muſt be imputed to Captain *Liſter*'s Raſhneſs, upon whom my Lord of *Cumberland* chiefly relyed, wanting Experience himſelf.

He was the man that adviſed the ſending the Ships of Wine for *England*, otherwiſe we had not known the Want of Drink; he was as earneſt in perſuading our Landing in the Face of the Fortifications of St. *Maries*, againſt all Reaſon and Sence. As he was raſh, ſo was he valiant; but paid dearly for his unadviſed Counſel: For he was one of the firſt hurt, and that cruelly, in the Attempt of St. *Maries*, and afterward drowned in the Rich Ship, caſt away at *Mounts Bay*.

Sir

Sir John Hawkins, *and Sir* Martin Forbiſher, *their Voyage undertaken, Anno* 1590.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Revenge	*Sir Martin Forbiſher*
The Mary-Roſe	*Sir John Hawkins*
The Lyon	*Sir Edward Yorke*
The Bonaventure	*Capt. Fenner.*
The Rainbow	*Capt. George Beeſton*
The Hope	
The Crane	*Capt. Boſtock*
The Quittance	
The Foreſight	*Capt. Burnell*
The Swiftſeur.	

FRom the Yeear 1585. untill this preſent Year 1590. there was the greateſt poſſibility imaginable of enriching our Nation, by Actions at Sea, had they been well followed; the King of *Spain* was grown ſo weak in Shipping, by the Overthrow he had in 1588, that he could no longer ſecure the Trade of his Subjects.

Her Majeſty now finding how neceſſary it was for her to maintain a Fleet upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, as well to hinder the Preparations he might make againſt Her, to repair the Diſgrace he received in 1588. as alſo to intercept his Fleets from the *Indies*, by which he grew Great and Mighty.

She ſent this Year 1590. Ten Ships of her own, in two Squadrons; the one to be Commanded by Sir *John Hawkins*, the other by Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, two Gentlemen of tried Experience.

The King of *Spain* underſtanding of this Preparation of hers, ſent forth 20 Sail of Ships, under the Command of *Don Alonſo de Baſſan*, Brother to the late Famous Marqueſs of St. *Cruz*. His Charge was to ſecure home the *Indian* Fleet and Carrecks.

But after *Don Alonſo* had put off to Sea, the King of *Spain* becoming better adviſed, than to adventure 20 of his Ships to 10 of ours, ſent for *Don Alonſo* back, and ſo fruſtrated the Expectation of our Fleet.

He likewiſe made a Diſpatch to the *Indies*, commanding the Fleets to Winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming Home that Summer: But this proved ſo great a Hind'rance and Loſs to the Merchants of *Spain*, to be ſo long without Return of their Goods, that it cauſed many to become Bankrupts, in *Sevil* and other places; beſides, which was ſo great a weakening to their Ships, to Winter in the *Indies*, that many years hardly ſufficed to repair the Damage they received.

Our Fleet being thus prevented, ſpent ſeven months in vain upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and the Iſlands; but in that ſpace, could not poſſeſs themſelves of one Ship of the *Spaniards*; and the Carrecks, upon which part of their Hopes depended, came Home without Sight of the Iſlands, and arrived ſafe at *Lisbon*.

This

This Voyage was a bare Action at Sea, though they attempted Landing at *Fayal*, which the Earl of *Cumberland*, the year before had taken and quitted; but the Caſtle being re-fortified, they prevailed not in their Enterprize: And thence forwards the King of *Spain* endeavored to ſtrengthen his Coaſts, and to encreaſe in Shipping, as may appear by the next enſuing Year.

Two Fleets, the one by Us, under the Lord Thomas Howard, *the other by the* Spaniards, *Commanded by* Don Alonſo de Baſſan, *Anno* 1591.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Defiance	*The Lord Thomas Howaad*
The Revenge	*Sir Richard Greenvile, Vice-admiral*
The Nonperil	*Sir Edward Denny*
The Bonaventure	*Capt. Croſſe*
The Lyon	*Capt. Fenner*
The Foreſight	*Capt. Vavaſor*
The Crane	*Capt. Duffeild.*

HER Majeſty underſtanding of the *Indian* Fleets Wintering in the *Havana*, and that Neceſſity would compell them home this Year 1591. ſhe ſent a Fleet to the Iſlands under the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard.*

The King of *Spain* perceiving her Driſt, and being ſenſible how much the ſafety of that Fleet concerned him, cauſed them to ſet out thence ſo late in the Year, that it endangered the Shipwrack of them all; choſing rather to hazard the periſhing of Ships, Men and Goods, than their falling into our Hands.

He had two Deſigns in bringing home this Fleet ſo late: One was, he thought the Lord *Thomas* would have conſumed his Victuals, and have been forced Home. The other, that he might in the mean time furniſh out the great Fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the firſt he found himſelf deceived: For my Lord was ſupplied both with Ships and Victuals out of *England*; and in the ſecond, he was as much prevented: For my Lord of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to Sea, and adverti-ſed the Lord *Thomas* thereof, the very Night before they arrived at *Flores*, where my Lord lay.

The day after this Intelligence, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was diſcovered by my Lord *Thomas*, whom he knew by their Number and Greatneſs, to be the Ships of which he had warning; and by that means eſcaped the Danger that Sir *Richard Greenvile*, his Vice-admiral raſhly ran into. Upon View of the *Spaniards*, which were 55 Sail, the Lord *Thomas* warily, and like a diſcreet General, weighed Anchor, and made Signs to the reſt of his Fleet to do the like, with a purpoſe to get the Wind of them; but Sir *Richard Greenvile*, being a ſtubborn man, and imagining this Fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armado* of which they were informed, would

by

by no means be perſuaded by his Maſter, or Company to cut his main Sail, to follow his Admiral; nay, ſo head-ſtrong and raſh he was, that he offered violence to thoſe that councelled him thereto.

But the Old Saying, that a wilful man is the Cauſe of his own Woe, could not be more truly verified than in him: For when the *Armado* approached him, and he beheld the Greatneſs of the Ships, he began to ſee and repent of his Folly; and when it was too late, would have freed himſelf of them, but in vain: For he was left a Prey to the Enemy, every Ship ſtriving to be the firſt ſhould board him.

This wilful Raſhneſs of Sir *Richard*, made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtained a Signal Victory; it being the firſt Ship that ever they took of Her Majeſties, and commended to them by ſome Engliſh Fugitives to be the very beſt ſhe had; but their Joy continued not long. For they enjoyed her but five days before ſhe was caſt away with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the Iſlands of *Tercera*.

Commonly one Misfortune is accompanied with another: For the *Indian* Fleet, which my Lord had waited for the whole Summer, the day after this miſhap, fell into the Company of this *Spaniſh Armado:* who, if they had ſtaid but one day longer, or the *Indian* Fleet had come home but one day ſooner, we had poſſeſt both them and many millions of Treaſure, which the Sea afterward devoured: For from the time they met with the Armado, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them ſuffered Shipwrack, beſides the *Aſcention* of *Sevil*, and the double Fly-boat, that were ſunk by the ſide of the *Revenge*.

All which was occaſioned by their Wintering in the *Indies*, and the late Diſambogueing from thence: For the Worm which that Country, is ſubject to, weakens and conſumes their Ships.

Notwithſtanding this croſs and perverſe Fortune, which happened by means of Sir *Richard Greenvile*, the Lord *Thomas* would not be diſmayed or diſcouraged; but kept the Sea ſo long as he had Victuals; and by ſuch Ships as himſelf and the reſt of the Fleet took, defrayed the better part of the Charge of the whole Action.

The Earl of Cumberland *to the Coaſt of* Spain, 1591.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Garland of her Majeſties.	*The Earl of Cumberland.*
Seven other Ships of his and his Friends	*Capt. under him*
	Capt. Monſon, now Sir William Monſon.

THE Earl of *Cumberland* keeping the Coaſt of *Spain*, as you have heard, while the Lord *Thomas* remained at the Iſlands, and both to one end, *viz.* to annoy and damnifie the *Spaniards*, though in two ſeveral Fleets, the Earl found Fortune in a ſort, as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the Lord *Thomas Howard*.

In his Courſe from *England* to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, he encountred with divers Ships of *Holland*, which came from *Lisbon*, wherein he found a great quantity of Spices belonging to the *Portugalls*: So greatly were we abuſed by that Nation of *Holland*, who, though they were the firſt that engaged us in the War with *Spain*, yet ſtill maintained their own Trade into thoſe parts, and ſupplied the *Spaniards* with Munition, Victuals Shipping and Intelligence againſt us.

Upon my Lord's Arrival on the Coaſt of *Spain*, it was his hap to take three Ships at ſeveral times, one with Wine, which he unladed into his own; and two with Sugars, which he enjoyed not long: no more did he the Spices, which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

For one of the Ships of Sugar, by means of a Leak that ſprung upon her, was forced to be caſt off, and the men, with much difficulty, recovered the Shore, and ſaved their Lives.

The other being ſent for *England*, and toſſed with contrary Winds, was for want of Victuals forced into the *Groyn*, where they rend'red themſelves to the Enemies mercy.

The Spices were determined to be ſent for *England*, and a Ship appointed for that purpoſe, with other Ships to guard her; and Captain *Monſon* was ſent on Board her to the Iſlands of the *Burlings*, with a Charge to ſee her diſpatched for *England*.

But the other Ships, not obſerving the Directions which were given them, and the Night falling calm; early in the Morning, this ſcattered Ship was ſet upon by ſix Gallies; and after a long and bloody Fight, the Captain, and the Principalleſt men being ſlain, both Ship and Spices were taken; but whether it was the reſpect they had to the Queen's Ship which was Admiral of that Fleet, or Honor to my Lord that commanded it; or Hope, by good Uſage of our men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more Courteſie than they had been from the beginning of the Wars.

My Lord of *Cumberland* conſidering the Diſaſters that thus befell him, and knowing the *Spaniſh* Fleet's readineſs to put out of Harbor; but eſpecially finding his Ship but ill of Sail, it being the firſt Voyage ſhe ever went to Sea, he durſt not abide the Coaſt of *Spain*, but thought it more Diſcretion to return for *England*, having (as you have heard) ſent a Pinnace to my Lord *Thomas* with the Intelligence aforeſaid.

A Voyage undertook by Sir Walter Rawleigh; *but himſelf returning, left the Charge thereof to Sir* Martin Forbiſher, *Anno* 1592.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
The Garland *The Foreſight, with divers Merchants Ships.*	*Sir Walter Rawleigh* *Capt. Croſs, and others.* *Sir Walter went not, but* *Sir Martin Forbiſher.*	*Sir John Boroughs.*

Sir

SIR *Walter Rawleigh*, who had taſted abundantly of the Queen's Love, and found it now began to decline, put himſelf upon a Voyage at Sea, and drew unto him divers friends of great Quality, and others, thinking to have attempted ſome place in the *Weſt Indies*; and with this reſolution he put out of Harbour; but ſpending two or three days in fowl Weather, Her Majeſty was pleaſed to command his Return, and to commit the Charge of the Ships to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, who was ſent down for that purpoſe; but with an expreſs Command, not to follow the Deſign of the *Weſt Indies*.

This ſuddain Alteration being known unto the reſt of the Captains, for the preſent made ſome Confuſion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary Actions. Their General leaving them, they thought themſelves free in point of Reputation, and at liberty to take what courſe they pleaſed: Few of them therefore did ſubmit themſelves to the Command of Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, but choſe rather each one to take his particular Fortune and Adventure at Sea.

Sir *Martin*, with two or three other Ships, repaired to the Coaſt of *Spain*, where he took a *Spaniard* laden with Iron, and a *Portugal* with Sugar: He remained there not without ſome danger, his Ship being ill of Sail, and the Enemy having a Fleet at Sea.

Sir *John Boroughs*, Captain *Croſs*, and another, ſtood to the Iſlands, where they met with as many Ships of my Lord of *Cumberland*'s, with whom they conſorted. After ſome time ſpent thereabouts, they had ſight of a Carreck, which they chaſed; but ſhe recovered the Iſland of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the Carreck, ſeeing the Iſlands could not defend her from the Strength and Force of the Engliſh, choſe rather, after the men were got on Shore to fire her ſelf, than we the Enemy ſhould reap Benefit by her.

The Purſer of her was taken, and by Threats compell'd to tell of another of their Company behind, that had Order to fall with that Iſland; and gave us ſuch particular Advertiſement, that indeed ſhe fell to be ours.

In the mean time *Don Alonſo de Baſſan* was furniſhing at *Lisbon* 23 of thoſe Gallions, which the Year before he had when he took the *Revenge*; he was directed with thoſe Ships to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the Carrecks, who had order to fall with that Iſland, there to put on Shore divers Ordnance for ſtrengthning the Town and Caſtle.

Don Alonſo breaking his Directions, unadviſedly made his repair firſt to St. *Michaels*, and there delivered his Ordnance before he arrived at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the Carrecks was burnt, and the other taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be ſuch a Diſreputation to him, and eſpecially for that it happened through his own Error and Default, that he became much perplex'd, and purſued the *Engliſh* 100 Leagues; but in vain, they being ſo far a Head.

The King of *Spain* being advertiſed of his two Carrecks miſhap, and the Error of *Don Alonſo*, though he had much favored him before, in reſpect of divers Actions he had been in with his Brother, the Marqueſs of St. *Cruz*, and for what he had lately performed, by taking the *Revenge*: Yet—— the King held it for ſuch a Blemiſh to his Honor, not to have his Inſtructions obeyed; and obſerved, that he did not only take from *Don Alonſo* his Command; but he lived and died too in Diſgrace; which, in my Opinion, he worthily deſerved.

The

The Queens Adventure in this Voyage, was only two Ships; one of which, and the leaſt of them too, was at the taking of the Carreck; which title, joyned with her Regal Authority, ſhe made ſuch uſe of, that the reſt of the Adventurers were fain to ſubmit themſelves to her Pleaſure, with whom ſhe dealt but indifferently.

The Earl of Cumberland *to the Coaſt of* Spain, *Anno Dom.* 1593.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Lyon	*The Earl of Cumberland*
The Bonaventure, and ſeven other Ships.	*Capt. under him, Capt. Monſon*
	Sir Edward Yorke.

THE Earl of *Cumberland* finding, that many of his Voyages had miſcarried through the Negligence, or Unfaithfulneſs of thoſe who were entruſted to lay in neceſſary Proviſions; and yet, being incouraged by the good Succeſs he had the laſt year, obtained two of her Majeſty's Ships, and Victualled them himſelf, together with ſeven others that did accompany them; and arriving upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, He took two *French* Ships of the *League*, which did more than treble the Expence of his Voyage. My Lord, being one day ſevered from his Fleet, it was his hap to meet with 12 Hulks, at the ſame place where Captain *Monſon* was taken the ſame day two years before: He required that Reſpect from them that was due unto Her Majeſties Ship, which they peremptorily refuſed, preſuming upon the Strength of their 12 Ships againſt one only; but they found themſelves deceived: For after two hours Fight he brought them to his Mercy, and made them acknowledge their Error; and not only ſo, but they willingly diſcovered, and delivered up to him a great quantity of Powder and Munition, which they carried for the King of *Spain*'s Service.

My Lord of *Cumberland* having ſpent ſome time thereabouts, and underſtanding that *Fervanteles de Menega*, a *Portugal*, and the King's General of a Fleet of 24 Sail, was gone to the Iſlands; he purſued them, thinking to meet the Carrecks before they ſhould joyn together. At his coming to *Flores*, he met, and took one of the Fleet, with the Death of the Captain, who yet lived ſo long as to inform him both where the Fleet was, and of their Strength: The day after, he met the Fleet it ſelf; but being far too weak for them, he was forced to leave them, and ſpent his time thereabouts, till he underſtood the Carrecks were paſſed by, without ſeeing either Fleet or Iſland.

Sir

Sir Martin Forbiſher, *with a Fleet to* Breſt *in* Brittany, *Anno* 1594.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Vauntguard	*Sir Martin Forbiſher*
The Rainbow	*Capt. Fenner*
The Dreadnought	*Capt. Clifford*
The Quittance.	*Capt. Savil*

ABout three years paſt, *Anno* 1591. the Queen ſent Sir *John Norris* with 3000 Souldiers, to joyn with the *French* King's Party in thoſe Parts. The King of *Spain*, who upheld the Faction of the League, ſent *Don John de Aquila* with the like Forces, to joyn with the Duke *de Mercœur*, who was of the contrary ſide. The *Spaniards* had fortified themſelves very ſtrongly near the Town of *Breſt*, expecting new Succors from *Spain* by Sea; which the *French* King fearing, craved Aſſiſtance from the Queen, which her Majeſty was the more willing to grant, becauſe the *Spaniards* had gotten the Haven of *Breſt* to entertain their Shipping in, and were like to prove there very dangerous Neighbors: Wherefore ſhe ſent Sir *Martin Forbiſher* thither in this year, 1594, with four of her Ships: And upon his Arrival there, Sir *John Norris*, with his Forces, and Sir *Martin* with his Seamen, aſſailed the Fort; and though it was as bravely defended as men could do; yet in the end it was taken with the loſs of divers Captains, Sir *Martin Forbiſher* being himſelf ſore wounded, of which Hurt he died at *Plymouth* after his return.

A Fleet to the Indies, *Sir* Francis Drake, *and Sir* John Hawkins *Generals, wherein they adventured deeply, and died in the Voyage. Anno* 1594.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
The Defiance	*Sir Francis Drake*	*Sir Tho. Baskervile*
The Garland	*Sir John Hawkins*	
The Hope	*Capt. Gilbert Yorke*	
The Bonaventure	*Capt. Troughton*	
The Foreſight	*Capt. Winter*	
The Adventure	*Capt. Tho. Drake.*	

THeſe two Generals, preſuming much upon their own Experience and Knowledge, uſed many Perſuaſions to the Queen, to undertake a Voyage to the *Weſt Indies*, giving much aſſurance to perform great Services, and promiſing to engage themſelves very deeply therein, with the Adventure of both Subſtance and Life. And as all Actions of this Nature pro-

miſe fair, till they come to be performed, ſo did this the more, in the Opinion of all Men, in reſpect of the two Generals Experience.

There were many Impediments and Letts to this Voyage, before they could clear themſelves of the Coaſt, which put them to greater Charge than they expected; the chiefeſt cauſe of their Lingring, was a miſtruſt our State had of an Invaſion, and the Danger to ſpare ſo many good Ships and men out of *England* as they carried with them.

The *Spaniards* with their uſual ſubtilty, let ſlip no opportunity to put us in amazement, thereby to diſſolve the Action; and ſent four Gallies to *Bleuret* in *Brittany*, from thence to ſeize ſome part of our Coaſt, that ſo we might apprehend a greater Force was to follow. Theſe Gallies landed at *Penſants* in *Cornwall*, where, finding the Town abandoned, they ſack'd and burnt it; but this Deſign of theirs took little effect; for the Voyage proceeded notwithſtanding.

The Intent of the Voyage, was to land at *Nombre de dois*, and from thence to march to *Panuma*, to poſſeſs the Treaſure that comes from *Peru*; and if they ſaw reaſon for it, to inhabite and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plymouth*, they received Letters from her Majeſty, of an Advertiſement ſhe had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian* Fleet was arrived; and that one of them, with loſs of her Maſt, was put room to the Iſland of *Porto Ricom*. She commanded them, ſeeing there was ſo good an opportunity offered, as the readineſs of this her Fleet, and the weakneſs of *Porto Ricom*, to poſſeſs themſelves of that Treaſure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de dois*. It is neither Years, nor Experience, that can foreſee and prevent all miſhaps; which is a manifeſt Proof, that God is the Guider and Diſpoſer of Mens Actions: For nothing could ſeem more probable to be effected, than this later Deſign, eſpecially conſidering the Ability and Wiſdom of the two Generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and failed in the Exècution: For there being five Frigats ſent out of *Spain*, to fetch this Treaſure from *Porto Ricom*, in their way it was their hap to take a Pinnace of the Engliſh Fleet, by whom they underſtood the Secrets of the Voyage; and to prevent the Attempt of *Porto Ricom*, they haſtened thither with all ſpeed (whilſt our Generals lingred at *Quadrupa*, to ſet up their Boats) and at their Arrival, ſo ſtrengthened the Town with the Souldiers, brought in the Frigats, that when our Fleet came thither, not expecting Reſiſtance, they found themſelves fruſtrate of their Hopes, which indeed they themſelves were the occaſion of, in managing their Deſign with no more Secreſie. This Repulſe bred ſo great a Diſconceit in Sir *John Hawkins*, as it is thought to have haſtened his days; and being great and unexpected, did not a little diſcourage Sir *Francis Drake*'s great Mind, who yet proceeded upon his firſt reſolved Deſign, for *Nombre de dios*, though with no better Succeſs: For the Enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the Paſſage to *Panuma*, and forced them to return with loſs. Sir *Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule Fortune, now finding his Error, and the difference between the preſent ſtrength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he firſt knew it, grew melancholly upon this Diſappointment, and ſuddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Nombre de dios*, where he got his firſt Reputation. The two Generals dying, and all other Hopes being taken away by their Deaths, Sir *Thomas Baskervile* ſucceeded them in their Command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a Fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reaſon of the Sickneſs and Weakneſs of his Men. This Fleet was ſent to take the Advantage of ours in its Re-

turn,

turn thinking, as indeed it happened, that they ſhould find them both weak, and in want; but the ſwiftneſs of our Ships, in which we had the Advantage of the *Spaniards*, preſerved us. You may obſerve, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, untill this preſent year 1595. there was no Summer, but the King of *Spain* furniſhed a Fleet for the guarding of his Coaſts, and ſecuring of his Trade; and though there was little fear of any Fleet from *England* to impeach him, beſides this in the *Indies*; yet becauſe he would ſhew his greatneſs, and ſatisfie the *Portugal* of the care he had in preſerving their Carrecks; he ſent the Count of *Feria*, a young Nobleman of *Portugal*, who deſired to gain Experience, with 20 Ships to the Iſlands; but the Carrecks did, as they uſed to do in many other years, miſs both Iſlands and Fleets, and arrived at *Lisbon* ſafely. The other Fleets of the King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, conſiſted of 24 Ships, their General *Don Bernardino de Villa nova*, an approved Coward, as it appeared when he came to encounter the *Engliſh* Fleet; but his Defects were ſupplied by the Valor of his Vice-admiral, who behaved himſelf much to his Honor: His Name was *John Garanay*.

The Earl of Eſſex, *and the Lord Admiral of* England, *Generals, equally, both by Sea and Land, Anno* 1596.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe	*The Earl of Eſſex. Capt. under him*
The Ark-royal	*Sir Will. Monſon*
The Mere-honor	*The Lord Admiral. Capt. under him*
The Warſpite	*Ames Preſton*
The Lyon	*The Lord Thomas Howard*
The Rainbow	*Sir Walter Rawleigh*
The Nonperil	*Sir Robert Southwell*
The Vauntguard	*Sir Francis Vere*
The Mary Roſe	*Sir Robert Dudley*
The Dreadnought	*Sir John Wingfield*
The Swiftſuer	*Sir George Carew*
The Quittance	*Sir Alexander Clifford*
The Tremontary, with ſeveral others.	*Sir Robert Croſſe*
	Sir George Clifford
	Sir Robert Mansfield
	Capt. King.

THE firſt of *June* 1596. we departed from *Plymouth*; and our Departure was the more ſpeedy, by reaſon of the great pains, care and induſtry of the 16 Captains, who in their own Perſons, labored the Night before, to get out ſome of their Ships, riding at *Catwater*, which otherwiſe had not been eaſily effected. The Third, we ſet Sail from *Canſom Bay*, the Wind, which when we weighed, was at *Weſt* and by *South*, inſtantly caſt up to the *North Eaſt*, and ſo continued untill it brought us up as high as

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the *North Cape* of *Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky Succeſs to enſue.

We being now come upon our Enemies Coaſt, it behoved the Generals to be vigilant in keeping them from Intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Litneſs*, the *True Love*, and the *Lion's Whelp* (the three chief Sailors of our Fleet) to run a Head, ſuſpecting the *Spaniards* had ſome Carvels of Advice out, which they did uſually ſend to diſcover at Sea, upon any Rumor of a leſs Fleet than this, was made ready in *England*.

No Ship or Carvel eſcaped from us, which I hold a ſecond Happineſs to our Voyage: For you ſhall underſtand hereafter, the Inconvenience that might have happened upon our Diſcovery.

The 10*th*. of *June*, the ſaid three Ships, took three Fly-Boats that came from *Cadiz* 14 days before; by them we underſtood the State of the Town, and that they had no ſuſpition of us, which we looked on as a third *Omen* of our good Fortune to come.

The 12*th*. of *June*, the *Swan*, a Ship of *London*, being commanded, as the other three, to keep a good way off the Fleet, to prevent diſcovery, ſhe met with a Fly-boat, which made Reſiſtance, and eſcaped from her. This Fly-boat came from the *Streights*, bound Home, who diſcovering our Fleet, and thinking to gain Reputation and Reward from the *Spaniards*, ſhhaped her Courſe for *Lisbon*; but ſhe was luckily prevented by the *John* and *Francis*, another Ship of *London*, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a League of the Shore; and this we may account a fourth Happineſs to our Voyage. The firſt (as hath been ſaid) was for the Wind to take us ſo ſuddainly, and to continue ſo long: For our Souldiers being Shipped, and in Harbor, would have conſumed their Victuals, and have been ſo peſter'd, that it would have endangered a Sickneſs amongſt them. The Second, was the taking all Ships that were ſeen, which kept the Enemy from Intelligence. The Third, was the intercepting of the Fly-Boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who aſſured us, our coming was not ſuſpected, which made us more careful to hail from the Coaſt than otherwiſe we ſhould have been: They told us likewiſe of the daily expectation of the Gallions to come from St. *Jacar* to *Cadiz*, and of the Merchantmen that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. Theſe Intelligences were of great moment, and made the Generals preſently to contrive their buſineſs both by Sea and Land, which otherwiſe would have taken up a longer time, after their coming thither, and whether all men would have conſented to attempt their Ships in Harbor, if they had not known the moſt part of them to conſiſt of Merchants, I hold very doubtful. The Fourth, and fortunateſt of all, was the taking of the Fly-boat by the *John* and *Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: For if ſhe had reached *Lisbon*, ſhe had been able to make report of the number and greatneſs of our Ships, and might have endangered the loſs of the whole Deſign, ſhe ſeeing the courſe we bore, and that we had paſſed *Lisbon*, which was the place the Enemy moſt ſuſpected, and made there his greateſt preparation for Defence: But had the Enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no place to fear but *Andulozia* and *Cadiz* above the reſt, which upon the leſt warning might have been ſtrengthned, and we put to great Hazard; he might alſo have ſecured his Ships, by towing them out with Gallies; and howſoever the Wind had been, might have ſent them into the *Streights*, where it had been in vain to have purſued them, or over the Bar of St. *Lucar*, where it had been in vain to have attempted them.

And

And indeed, of the good and ill of Intelligence, we had had ſufficient experience formerly, Of the good in 1588. For how ſuddainly had we been taken and ſurprized when it we leſt ſuſpected, had it not been for Captain *Flemming?* Of the ill in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a Barque of Sir *Francis Drake*'s Fleet, which was the Occaſion of the Overthrow of himſelf and the whole Action?

The 20*th.* of *June* we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the Maſters made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determined in Council, that we ſhould land at St. *Sebaſtians*, the Weſtermoſt part of the Land; and thither came all the Ships to an Anchor, every man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the Wind being ſo great, and the Sea ſo grown, and four Gallies lying too, to intercept our Boats, there was no attempting to land there, without the hazard of all.

This day was ſpent in vain, in returning Meſſengers from one General to another; and in the end, they were forced to reſolve upon a Courſe which Sir *William Monſon*, Captain under my Lord of *Eſſex*, adviſed him to, the ſame morning he diſcovered the Town; which was to ſurprize the Ships, and to be poſſeſſors of the Harbor before they attempted landing.

This being now reſolved on, there aroſe a great Queſtion, who ſhould have the Honor of the firſt going in? My Lord of *Eſſex* ſtood for himſelf; but my Lord Admiral oppoſed it, knowing if he miſcarried, it would hazard the Overthrow of the Action; beſides, he was ſtreightly charged by Her Majeſty, that the Earl ſhould not expoſe himſelf to Danger, but upon great neceſſity.

When my Lord of *Eſſex* could not prevail, the whole Council withſtanding him he ſent Sir *William Monſon* that night, on Board my Lord Admiral, to reſolve what Ships ſhould be appointed the next day to undertake the Service. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had the *Vaward* given him, which my Lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challenged in right of his place of Vice-admiral, and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having Order over night to ply in, came firſt to an Anchor; but in that diſtance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them: And he himſelf returned on Board the Lord General *Eſſex*, to excuſe his coming to Anchor ſo far off, for want of Water to go higher; which was thought ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more Water, and had no more Advantage than he of Tide, could paſs where his could not: But Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to ſecond him, paſſing by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* his Ship, Sir *Walter* the ſecond time, weighed and went higher. The Lord General *Eſſex*, who promiſed to keep in the midſt of the Fleet, was told by Sir *William Monſon*, that the greateſt Service would depend upon three or four Ships; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his Honor; for that many Eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his Promiſe, and to uſe all means he could to be formoſt in the Fight. My Lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own Ship, the *Mere honor*, betook himſelf to the *Nonperil*; and in reſpect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulſe* and *Warſpight*, had taken up the beſt of the Channel, by their firſt coming to an Anchor, to his grief he could not get higher: Here did every Ship ſtrive to be the headmoſt; but ſuch was the narrowneſs of the Channel, as neither the Lord Admiral, nor any other Ship of the Queens could paſs on. There was Commandment given, that no Ship ſhould ſhoot but the Queens, making account, that the Honor would be the greater, if the Victory were obtained with ſo few. This Fight continued from Ten, till Four in the Afternoon: The *Spaniards* then ſet Sail,

thinking either to run higher up the River, or elſe to bring their other Broad Sides to us, becauſe of the heat of their Ordnance; but howſoever it was, in their floating, they came a ground, and the men began to forſake the Ships: Whereupon there was Commandment given, that all the Hoys, and Veſſels that drew leaſt Water ſhould go unto them. Sir *William Monſon* was ſent in the *Repulſe* Boat, with like directions. We poſſeſs'd our ſelves of the great Gallions, the *Matthew*, and the *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fired themſelves, and were burnt down before they could be quenched.

I muſt not omit to deſcribe the manner of the *Spaniſh* Ships and Gallies, riding in Harbor at our firſt coming to *Cadiz*. The four Gallions ſingled themſelves from out the Fleet, as Guards of their Merchants. The Gallies were placed to flank us with their Prows before Entry; but when they ſaw our Approach, the next morning the Merchants ran up the River, and the Men of War of *Port Royal* to the Point of the River, brought themſelves into a good Order of Fight, moving their Ships a Head and a Stern, to have their Broad Sides upon us. The Gallies then betook themſelves to the Guard of the Town, which we put them from before we attempted the Ships.

The Victory being obtained at Sea, the L. General *Eſſex* landed his men in a Sandy Bay, which the Caſtle of *Poyntull* commanded; but they ſeeing the Succeſs of their Ships, and miſtruſting their own ſtrength, neither offered to offend his Landing, nor to defend the Caſtle; but quitted it, and ſo we became Poſſeſſors of it.

After my Lord's peeceable Landing, he conſidered what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the Enemy could annoy us, but the Bridge of *Swaſoe*, which leadeth over from the main Land to the Iſland; by our making good of which Bridge, there would be no way left for the Gallies to eſcape us. He ſent three Regiments under the Command of Sir *Conniers Clifford*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret* to the Bridge; who at their firſt coming were encountred by the Enemy, but yet poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, with the loſs of ſome men; but whether it was for want of Victuals, or for what other reaſons, our men quitted it, I know not, and the Gallies breaking down divers Arches paſs'd it, and by that means eſcaped.

My Lord diſpatched a Meſſenger to my Lord Admiral, intreating him to give Order to attempt the Merchants that rode in *Port Royal*, for that it was dangerous to give them a Night's reſpite, leſt they ſhould convey away their Wealth, or take example by the *Philip* and *Thomas*, to burn themſelves. This Meſſage was delivered by Sir *Anthony Aſhley*, and Sir *William Monſon*, as my Lord Admiral was in his Boat, ready with his Toops of Seamen to land, fearing the Lord General *Eſſex* ſhould be put to Diſtreſs with his ſmall Companies, which were but three Regiments, haſtened by all means to ſecond him, and gave order to certain Ships the next day to purſue him.

Seeing I have undertaken to ſhew the Eſcapes committed in any of our *Engliſh* Voyages, ſuch as were committed here, ſhall without Fear or Flattery appear to the Judicious Reader.

Though the Earl of *Eſſex* his Carriage and Forwardneſs merited much, yet if it had been with more Adviſement, and leſs Haſte, it would have ſucceeded better: And if he were now living, he would confeſs, Sir *William Monſon* adviſed him, rather to ſeek to be Maſter of the Ships, than of the Town; for it was that would afford both Wealth and Honor: For the

Riches

Riches in Ships could not be concealed, or conveyed away as in Towns they might. And the Ships themſelves being brought for *England*, would be always before mens Eyes there, and put them in remembrance of the greatneſs of the Exploit; as for the Town, perhaps it might be ſoon won, but probably not long enjoyed, and ſo quickly forgotten: And to ſpeak indifferentiy, by the Earl's ſuddain Landing, without the Lord Admirals Privity; and his giving Advice by a Meſſage to attempt the Ships, which ſhould have been reſolved of upon mature Deliberation, no doubt, the Lord Admiral found his Honor a little Eclipſed, which perhaps haſtened his Landing for his Reputation ſake, whenas he thought it more adviſable to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of their Fleet.

Before the Lord Admiral could draw near the Town, the Earl of *Eſſex* had entred it; and although the Houſes were built in that manner, as that every Houſe ſerved for a Platform; yet they were forc'd to quit them, and to retire into the Caſtle.

My Lord at laſt, in deſpite of the Enemy, gained the Market place, where he found greateſt Reſiſtance from the Houſes thereabouts; and where it was that that Worthy Gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily ſlain. The Lord General *Eſſex* cauſed it to be proclaimed by Beat of Drum through the Town, that all that would yield, ſhould repair to the Town-Houſe, where they ſhould have promiſe of Mercy, and thoſe that would not, to expect no Favor. The Caſtle deſired Reſpite to conſider untill the morning following; and then by one general Conſent, they ſurrend'red themſelves to the two Lord Generals Mercies. The Chief Priſoners, Men and Women, were brought into the Caſtle, where they remained a little ſpace, and were ſent away with Honorable Uſage. The noble treating of the Priſoners, hath gained an everlaſting Honor to our Nation, and the General's in particular.

It cannot be ſuppoſed the Lord Generals had leiſure to be idle the day following, having ſo great buſineſs to conſider of, as the ſecuring the Town, and enjoying the Merchants Ships: Wherefore, for the ſpeedier diſpatch, they had Speech with the beſt men of the City, about the Ranſom to be given for their Town and Liberties, 120000 Duckets was the Summ concluded on; and for Security thereof, many of them became Hoſtages. There was likewiſe an Overture for the Ranſom of their Ships and Goods, which the Duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we ſhould reap any profit by them, he cauſed them to be fired.

We found by Experience, that the deſtroying of this Fleet (which did amount to the value of ſix or ſeven Millions) was the general impoveriſhing of the whole Country: For when the Pledges ſent to *Sevil*, to take up money for their Redemption; they were anſwered, that all the Town was not able to raiſe ſuch a Summ, their Loſs was ſo great by the loſs of their Fleet. And to ſpeak truth, *Spain* never received ſo great an Overthrow, ſo great a Spoil, ſo great an Indignity at our Hands as this: For our Attempt was at his own Home, in his Port, that he thought as ſafe as his Chamber, where we took and deſtroy'd his Ships of War, burnt and conſumed the Wealth of his Merchants, ſack'd his City, ranſomed his Subjects, and entred his Country without Impeachment.

To write all Accidents of this Voyage, wete too tedious, and would weary the Reader; but he that would deſire to know the Behavior of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, many confer with divers *Engliſh* men that were redeemed out the Gallies in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After

After we had enjoyed the Town of *Cadiz* a Fortnight, and our men were grown rich by the Spoil of it, the Generals imbarqued their Army, with an intent to perform greater Services before their Return; but ſuch was the Covetouſneſs of the better Sort, who were inriched there, and the fear of Hunger in others, who complained for want of Victuals, as they could not willingly be drawn to any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted, was *Pharoah*, a Town of *Algarula* in *Portugal*, a place of no Reſiſtance or Wealth, only famous by the Library of *Oſorius*, who was Biſhop of that place; which Library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the Books beſtowed upon the new erected Library of *Oxford*.

Some Priſoners were taken; but of ſmall account, who told us, that the greateſt Strength of the Country was in *Lawguſt*, the chief Town of *Argarula*, twelve miles diſtant from thence; becauſe moſt part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good expecting our coming. This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Eſſex*, who preferred Honor before Wealth: And having had his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Pharoah* and Country thereabouts: He Shipped his Army, and took Council of the Lord Admiral how to proceed. My Lord Admiral diverted his courſe for *Lawguſt*, alleadging the place was ſtrong, of no Wealth, always held in the nature of a Fiſher-Town, belonging to the *Portugals*, who in their Hearts were our Friends; that the winning of it, after ſo eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no Honor; though it ſhould be carried, yet it would be the Loſs of his beſt Troops and Gentlemen, who would rather to die, than receive Indignity of a Repulſe. My Lord of *Eſſex*, much againſt his Will, was forc'd to yield unto theſe Reaſons, and deſiſt from that Enterpriſe.

About this time there was a general Complaint for want of Victuals; which proceeded rather out of a deſire that ſome had to be at home, than out of any neceſſity: For Sir *William Monſon* and Mr. *Darrel*, were appointed to examine the Condition of every Ship, and found ſeven weeks Victuals (Drink excepted) which might have been ſupplied from the Shore in Water; and this put the Generals in great hope to perform ſomething more than they had done. The only Service that was now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the Carrecks, which in all probability could not eſcape us, though there were many Doubts to the contrary; but eaſily anſwered by men of Experience: But in truth, ſome mens deſires homeward, were ſo great, that no Reaſon could prevail with, or perſuade them.

Coming into the height of the Rock, the Generals took Council once again, and then the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, offered with great earneſtneſs, to ſtay out the time our Victuals laſted; and deſired to have but 12 Ships furniſhed out of the reſt to ſtay with them; but this would not be granted, though the Squadron of the *Hollanders* offered voluntarily to ſtay. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* alleadged the ſcarcity of Victuals, and the Infection of his Men. My Lord General *Eſſex*, offered, in the Greatneſs of his Mind, and the Deſire he had to ſtay, to ſupply his want of Men and Victuals, and to exchange Ships; but all Propoſals were in vain: For the Riches kept them that got much, from attempting more; as if it had been otherwiſe pure want, though not Honor would have enforced them to greater Enterpriſes.

This being the laſt Hopes of the Voyage, and being generally withſtood, it was concluded to ſteer away for the *North Cape*, and afterwards, to view

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and ſearch the Harbors of the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the King of *Spain*'s Ships chanced to be there, to give an Attempt upon them.

The Lord Admiral ſent a Carvel of our Fleet into theſe two Harbors, and aparrelled the men in *Spaniſh* Cloaths, to avoid Suſpicion. This Carvel returned the next day, with a true Relation, that there were no Ships in the Harbors: And now paſſing all places where there was any hope of doing good, our Return for *England* was reſolved upon; and the 8th. of *Auguſt*, the Lord Admiral arrived in *Plymouth*, with the greateſt part of the Army: And the Lord General *Eſſex*, who ſtaid to accompany the St. *Andrew*, which was under his Charge, and reputed of his Squadron, two days after us, the 10*th.* of *Auguſt*, where he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the like hath not been ſeen, for ſo many to go out of *England*, to ſuch great Enterpriſes, and ſo well to return home again.

He himſelf rid up to the Court, to adviſe with her Majeſty, about the winning of *Callis*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Eaſter* before: Here was a good opportunity, to have re-gained the Ancient Patrimony of *England*; but the *French* King, thought he might with more eaſe re-gain it from the *Spaniard*, who was his Enemy, than recover it again from us, who were his Friends.

My Lord Admiral, with the Fleet, went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the Charge of the Navy, to Sir *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *William Monſon*. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endured more foul Weather, and contrary Winds, than in the whole Voyage beſides.

A Voyage to the Iſlands, the Earl of Eſſex *General, Anno* 1597.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Mere-honor	*The Earl of Eſſex. Capt. under him*
After in the Repulſe	*Sir Robert Manſell*
The Lyon	*The Lord Thomas Howard*
The Warſpite	*Sir Walter Rawleigh*
The Garland	*The Earl of Southampton*
The Defiance	*The Lord Mountioy*
The Mary Roſe	*Sir Francis Vere*
The Hope	*Sir Richard Lewſon*
The Matthew	*Sir George Carew*
The Rainbow	*Sir Will. Monſon*
The Bonaventure,	*Sir Will. Harvey*
The Dreadnought	*Sir Will. Brooke*
The Swiftſuer	*Sir Gilly Merick*
The Antelope	*Sir John Gilbert, he went not.*
The Nonperil	*Sir Tho. Vavaſor*
The St. Andrew	*Capt. Throgmorton.*

HER Majeſty having Knowledge of the King of *Spain*'s drawing down his Fleet and Army to the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, with an intent to enter into ſome Action againſt Her; and that, notwithſtanding the loſs of

thirty ſix Sail of his Ships that were caſt away upon the *North Cape*, in their coming thither: He prepared with all poſſible means, to revenge the Diſgraces we did him the year laſt paſt at *Cadiz*. Her Majeſty likewiſe prepared to defend her ſelf, and fitted out the moſt part of her Ships for the Sea; but at length, perceiving his Drift was more to affright than offend her, though he gave it it out otherwiſe, becauſe ſhe ſhould provide to reſiſt him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad. She was unwilling the great Charges ſhe had been at, ſhould be beſtowed in vain; and therefore turned her Preparations another way, than that for which ſhe firſt intended them.

The Project of this Voyage, was to aſſault the King of *Spain*'s Shipping in the Harbor of *Ferrol*, which the Queen chiefly deſired to do for her own Security at home; and afterwards to go and take the Iſlands of *Tercera*; and there to expect the coming home of the *Indian* Fleet. But neither of theſe two Deſigns took that effect which was expected: For in our ſetting forth, the ſame day we put to Sea, we were taken with a moſt violent Storm, and contrary Winds; and the General was ſeperated from the Fleet, and one Ship from another, ſo that the one half of the Fleet were compelled to return home, and the reſt that kept the Sea, having reached the Coaſt of *Spain*, were commanded home, by order of the Lord General.

Thus after their return, they were to adviſe upon a new Voyage, finding by their Ships and Victuals, they were unable to perform the former: Whereupon it was thought convenient all the Army ſhould be diſcharged, for the prolonging of the Victuals, except a thouſand of the prime Souldiers of the Low Countries, which were put into her Majeſties Ships, that they might be the better prepared, if they ſhould chance to encounter the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Thus the ſecond time they departed *England*, though not without ſome danger of the Ships, by reaſon of the Winter's near approach.

The firſt Land in *Spain* we fell withal, was the *North Cape*, the place whither our Directions led us, if we happened to loſe Company; being there deſcried from the Shore, and not above 12 Leagues from the *Groyn*, where the *Spaniſh Armado* lay. We were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the Harbor to fight us; but ſpending ſome time thereabouts, and finding no ſuch Diſpoſition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that Coaſt, leſt we ſhould loſe our opportunity upon the *Indian* Fleet; therefore every Captain received his Directions to ſtand his Courſe into 36 Degrees, there to ſpread our ſelves *North* and *South*, it being a heighth that commonly the *Spaniards* ſail in from the *Indies*.

At this time the Lord General complained of a Leak in his Ship; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himſelf upon the Lee to ſtop it. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and ſome other Ships, being a head the Fleet, and it growing dark, they could not diſcern the Lord General's Working; but ſtood their Courſe as before directed; and through this unadviſed working of my Lord, they loſt him and his Fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was informed by a Pinnace he met, that the great *Armado*, which we ſuppoſed to be in the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the Iſlands, for the Guard of the *Indian* Fleet. This Pinnace, with this Intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* immediately ſent to look out the General. My Lord had no ſooner received this Advice, but at the very inſtant he directed his Courſe to the Iſlands, and diſpatched ſome ſmall Veſſels to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, to inform him of the ſuddain Alteration of his Courſe, upon the News received from him, commanding

ding him with all Expedition, to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our Arrival. At the Iſlands we found this Intelligence utterly falſe: For neither the *Spaniſh* Ships were there, nor were expected there: We met likewiſe with divers *Engliſh* men, that came out of the *Indies*; but they could give us no aſſurance of the coming home of the Fleet; neither could we recive any Advertiſement from the Shore, which made us half in deſpair of them.

By that time we had watered our Ships, and refreſhed our ſelves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* arrived there, who was willed by the Lord General, after he was furniſhed of ſuch Wants as that poor Iſland afforded, to make his repair to the Iſland of *Fayal*, which my Lord intended to take. Here grew great Queſtions and Heart-burnings againſt Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: For he coming to *Fayal*, and miſſing the Lord General, and yet knowing my Lord's Reſolution to take the Iſland, he held it more adviſable to land with thoſe Forces he had, than to expect the coming of my Lord: For in that ſpace the Iſland might be better provided: whereupon he landed, and took it before my Lord's approach. This Act was held ſuch an Indignity to my Lord, and urged with that Vehemence, by thoſe that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my Lord, though naturally kind, and flexible, had not feared how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had ſmarted for it.

From this Iſland we went to *Gracioſa*, which did willingly relieve our Wants, as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our Army, eſpecially, becauſe they underſtood there was a Squadron of *Hollanders* amongſt us, who did not uſe to forbear Cruelty wherever they came; and here it was that we met the *Indian* Fleet, which in manner following, unluckily eſcaped us.

The Lord General having ſent ſome men of good Account into the Iſland, to ſee there ſhould be no Injury offered to the *Portugals*, he having paſſed his word to the contrary; thoſe men advertiſed him of four Sail of Ships deſcried from the Shore, and one of them greater than the reſt, ſeemed to be a Carreck: My Lord received this News with great Joy, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, to be commanded by himſelf, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. The next Ship to my Lord, of the Queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monſon* went, who received direction from my Lord to ſteer away *South* that Night; and if he ſhould meet with any Fleet, to follow them, carrying Lights, or ſhooting off his Ordnances or making any other Sign that he could; and if he met with no Ships, to direct his Courſe the next day, to the Iſland of St. *Michael*; but promiſing that Night to ſend 12 Ships after him. Sir *William* beſought my Lord, by the Pinnace that brought him this Direction, that above all things he ſhould have a care to diſpatch a Squadron to the Road of *Angra* in the *Tercera's*; For it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would reſort.

Whilſt my Lord was thus contriving his Buſineſs, and ordering his Squadrons, a ſmall Barque of his Fleet happened to come to him, who aſſured him, that thoſe Ships diſcovered from the Land, were of his own Fleet; and that they came in immediately from them. This made my Lord countermand his former Direction; only Sir *William Monſon*, who was the next Ship to him, and received the firſt Command, could not be recalled back. Within three hours of his Departure from my Lord, which might be about 12 of the Clock, he fell in company of a Fleet of 35 Sail, which at the firſt he could not aſſure himſelf to be *Spaniards*; becauſe the day before, that

number

number of Ships was miſſing from our Fleet. Here he was in a *Dilemma* and great perplexity with himſelf; for in making Signs, as he was directed, if the Ships proved *Engliſh*, it were ridiculous, and he would be expoſed to ſcorn; and to reſpite it untill morning, were as dangerous, if they were the *Indian* Fleet: For then my Lord might be out of View, or of the hearing of his Ordnance: Therefore he reſolved rather to put his Perſon, than his Ship in Peril. He commanded his Maſter to keep the Weather-Gage of the Fleet, whatſoever ſhould become of him; and it blowing little Wind, he betook himſelf to his Boat, and rowed up with the Fleet, demanding of whence they were: They anſwered, of *Sevil* in *Spain*; and asked of whence he was? He told them of *England*; and that the Ship in ſight was a Gallion of the Queen's of *England*, ſingle and alone, alleadging the Honor they would get by winning her; his Drift being to draw and entice them into the Wake of our Fleet, where they would be ſo entangled, as they could not eſcape; they returned him ſome Shot, and ill Language; but would not alter their Courſe to the *Tercera's*, whither they were bound, and where they arrived to our misfortune. Sir *William Monſon* returned aboard his Ship, making Signs with Lights, and Report with his Ordnance; but all in vain: For my Lord altering his Courſe, as you have heard, ſtood that Night to St. *Michaels*, and paſſed by the North ſide of *Tercera*, a farther way, than if he had gone by the way of *Augra*, where he had met the *Indian* Fleet.

When day appeared, and Sir *William Monſon* was in hope to find the 12 Ships promiſed to be ſent to him, he might diſcern the *Spaniſh* Fleet two miles and a little more a Head him, and a Stern him a Gallion, and a Pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her Flaggs, he knew to be the Earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*: The Pinnace was a Frigat of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be Gallions of theirs; but ſeeing the Flag of the *Garland*, ſhe found her Error, and ſprang a looſ, thinkink to eſcape; but the Earl purſued her with the loſs of ſome Time, when he ſhould have followed the Fleet; and therefore was deſired to deſiſt from that Chaſe by Sir *William Monſon*, who ſent his Boat to him. By a Shot from my Lord, this Frigat was ſunk; and while his Men were rifling her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their two Ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were two Gallions of theirs; and ſo much did my Lord ſignifie to Sir *William Monſon*, wiſhing him to ſtay their coming up: for that there would be greater hope of thoſe two Ships, which there was no doubt but we were able to Maſter, than of the Fleet, for which we were too weak.

But after Sir *William* had made the two Ships to be the Queen's, which he ever ſuſpected them to be, he began to purſue the *Spaniſh* Fleet afreſh; but by reaſon they were ſo far a Head of him, and had ſo little way to ſail, they recovered the Road of *Tercera*; but he and the reſt of the Ships purſued them, and himſelf led the way into the Harbor, where he found ſharp Reſiſtance from the Caſtle; but yet ſo battered the Ships, that he might ſee the Maſts of ſome ſhot by the Board, and the men quit the Ships; ſo that there wanted nothing but a Gale of Wind to enable him to cut the Cables of the Hawſers, and to bring them off: Wherefore he ſent to the other 3 great Ships of ours, to deſire them to attempt the cutting their Cables; but Sir *Fra. Vere* rather wiſhed his coming off, that they might take a Reſolution what to do. This muſt be rather imputed to want of Experience than Backwardneſs in him: For Sir *William* ſent him word, that if he quitted the Harbor, the Ships would tow near the Caſtle; and as the Night drew on, the Wind would

would freſhen, and come more off the Land, which indeed proved ſo, and we above a League from the Road in the morning.

We may ſay, and that truly, there was never that poſſibility to have undone the State of *Spain* as now: For every Royal of Plate we had taken in this Fleet, had been two to them, by our converting it by War upon them.

None of the Captains could be blamed in this Buſineſs: All is to be attributed to the want of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature to be over-ruled: For the firſt hour he anchored at *Flores*, and called a Council, Sir *William Monſon* adviſed him upon the reaſons following, after his Watering, to run *Weſt*, ſpreading his Fleet *North* and *South*, ſo far as the *Eaſtern* Wind that then blew would carry them; alleadging, that if the *Indian* Fleet came home that Year, by computation of the laſt light Moon, from which time their diſimboguing in the *Indies*, muſt be reckoned, they could not be above 200 Leagues ſhort of that Iſland; and whenſoever the Wind ſhould chop up *Weſternly*, he bearing a ſlack Sail, they would, in a few days overtake him.

This Advice my Lord ſeemed to take, but was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who coming principally for Land Service, found themſelves tired by the tediouſneſs of the Sea. Certain it is, if my Lord had followed his Advice, within leſs than 40 hours, he had made the Queen owner of that Fleet: For by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigat, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was but 50 Leagues in traverſe with that *Eaſtern* Wind, when my Lord was at *Flores*, which made my Lord wiſh, the firſt time Sir *William Monſon* repaired to him, after the Eſcape of the Fleet, that he had loſt his Hand ſo he had been ruled by him.

Being met Aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, we conſulted what to do, and reſolved to acquaint my Lord with what had happened, deſiring his Preſence with us, to ſee if there were any poſſibility to attempt the Shipping, or ſurprize the Iſland, and ſo to poſſeſs the Treaſure.

My Lord received this Advertiſement, juſt as he was ready with his Troops to have landed in St. *Michaels*; but this Meſſage diverted his Landing, and made him preſently caſt about for the Iſlands of the *Tercera's*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his Courſe from St. *Michaels*, it was his hap to to take three Ships that departed the *Havana* the day after the Fleet: Which three Ships did more than countervail the whole Voyage.

At my Lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a Conſultation how the Enemies Ships might be fetched off, or deſtroyed as they lay; but all men with one conſent, agreed the impoſſibility of it. The attempting the Iſland was propounded; but withſtood for theſe reaſons, the difficulty in Landing, the ſtrength of the Iſland, which was increaſed by fourteen or fifteen Hundred Souldiers in the Ships, and our want of Victuals to abide by the Siege. Seeing then we were fruſtrate of our Hopes at the *Tercera*, we reſolved upon landing in St. *Michaels*, and arrived the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the Chief City. Here my Lord imbarqued his ſmall Army in Boats, with offer to Land; and having thereby drawn the Enemies greateſt Force thither to reſiſt him, ſuddainly he rowed to *Villa Franca*, three or four Leagues diſtant from thence; which, not being defended by the Enemy, he took. The Ships had order to abide in the Road of *Delgada*; for that my Lord made account to march thither by Land; but being on Shore at *Villa Franca*, he was informed that the March was impoſſible, by reaſon of the high and craggy Mountains, which diverted his purpoſe.

Victuals now grew ſhort with us, and my Lord General began diſcreetly to foreſee the danger in abiding towards Winter upon theſe Coaſts, which could not afford him an Harbor, only open Roads that were ſubject to *Southern* Winds; and upon every ſuch Wind, he muſt put to Sea for his ſafety. He conſidered, that if this ſhould happen, when his Troops were on Shore, and he not able to reach the Land in a Fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a deſperate caſe he ſhould put himſelf into, eſpecially in ſo great a want of Victuals: And ſo concluding, that he had ſeen the end of all his Hopes, by the Eſcape of the Fleet, he imbarqued himſelf and Army, though with ſome difficulty, the Seas were now grown ſo high.

By this time the one half of the Fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada*, put room for *Villa Franca*, and thoſe that remained behind, being thought by a Ship of *Brazile* to be the *Spaniſh* Fleet, ſhe came in amongſt them, and ſo was betrayed: After her there followed a Carreck, who had been ſerved in the like manner; but for the haſty and indiſcreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run a Shore under the Caſtle; when the Wind leſſened Sir *William Monſon* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an Attempt upon her, notwithſtanding the Caſtle; which ſhe perceiving, as he drew near unto her, ſhe ſet her ſelf on fire, and burned down to the very Keel. She was a Ship of 1400 Tuns Burden, that the year before was not able to double the Cape of *bona Eſperanſa*, in her Voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*; but put into *Brazile*, where ſhe was laden with Sugars, and afterwards thus deſtroyed. The *Spaniards*, who preſumed more upon their Advantages than Valors, thought themſelves in too weak a Condition to follow us to the Iſlands, and put their Fortunes upon a days Service, but ſubtilly deviſed how to intercept us as we came Home, when we had leaſt Thought or Suſpicion of them; and their Fleet, that was all this while in the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the Coaſt, their General the *Adelantada* came for *England*, with a Reſolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortifie it, and afterwards, with their Ships, to keep the Sea, and expect our coming home ſcattered.

Having thus cut off our Sea Forces, and poſſeſſing the Harbor of *Falmouth*, they thought with a ſecond ſupply of 37 *Levantiſco's* Ships, which the Marqueſs *Arumbullo* commanded, to have returned and gained a good footing in *England*.

Theſe Deſigns of theirs were not foreſeen by us: For we came Home ſcattered, as they made reckoning, not 20 in number together.

We may ſay, and that truly, that God fought for us: For the *Adalantada* being within a few Leagues of the Iſland of *Silly*, he commanded all his Captains on Board him to receive his Directions; but whilſt they were in Conſultation, a violent Storm took them at *Eaſt*, inſomuch that the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but in no caſe were able to ſave their Boats, the Storm continued ſo furious, and happy was he that could recover home, ſeeing their Deſign thus overthrown by loſs of their Boats, whereby their means of Landing was taken away. Some who were willing to ſtay, and receive the farther Commands of the General, kept the Seas ſo long upon our Coaſt, that in the end they were taken; others put themſelves into our Harbors for Refuge and Succor; and it is certainly known, that in this Voyage the *Spaniards* loſt eighteen Ships, the St. *Luke*, and the St. *Bartholomew*, being two and in the rank of his beſt Gallions.

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We muſt aſcribe this Succeſs to God only: For certainly the Enemies Deſigns were dangerous, and not to be diverted by our Force; but by his Will, who would not ſuffer the *Spaniards* in any of their Attempts, to ſet footing in *England*, as we have done in all the Quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Iſlands, and both the *Indies*.

The Lord Thomas Howard *Admiral to the* Downs, *from whence he returned in one Month, Anno* 1599.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Elizabeth Jonas	*The Lord Thomas Howard*
The Ark Royal	*Sir Walter Rawleigh*
The Triumph	*Sir Fulke Grivel*
The Mere-honor	*Sir Henry Palmer*
The Repulſe	*Sir Tho. Vavaſor*
The Garland	*Sir Will. Harvey*
The Defiance	*Sir Will. Monſon*
The Nonperil	*Sir Robert Croſs*
The Lyon	*Sir Richard Lewſon*
The Rainbow	*Sir Alexander Clifford*
The Hope	*Sir John Gilbert*
The Foreſight	*Sir Tho. Sherley*
The Mary Roſe	*Mr. Forteſcue*
The Bonaventure,	*Capt. Troughton.*
The Crane	*Capt. Jonas*
The Swiftſuer	*Capt. Bradgate*
The Tremontary	*Capt. Slingsby*
The Advantage	*Capt. Hoer*
The Quittance	*Capt. Reynolds*

I Cannot write of any thing done in this Year of 1599. For there was never greater Expectation of War, with leſs Performance. Whether it was a Miſtruſt the one Nation had of the other, or a Policy held on both ſides, to make Peace with Sword in Hand, a Treaty being entertained by conſent of each Prince, I am not to examine; but ſure I am, the Preparation was on both ſides very great, as if the one expected an Invaſion from the other; and yet it was generally conceived, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only relation to my Lord of *Eſſex*, who was then in *Ireland*, and had a Deſign to try his Friends in *England*, and to be revenged of his Enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved afterwards by his Fall: Howſoever it was, the Charge was not ſo great as neceſſary: For it was commonly known, that the *Adalantada* had drawn both his Ships and Gallies to the *Groyne*; which was not uſually done, but for ſome Action intended upon *England* or *Ireland*, though he converted them after to another uſe, as you ſhall hear.

The Gallies were ſent into the Low Countreys, and paſs'd the Narrow Seas, while our Ships lay there, and with the Fleet the *Atalantada* purſued the *Hollanders* to the Iſlands, whither he ſuſpected they were gone. This Fleet

Fleet of *Hollanders*, which conſiſted of 73 Sail, were the firſt Ships that ever diſplayed their Colors in War-like ſort againſt the *Spaniards*, in any Action of their own: For how cruel ſoever the War ſeemed to be in *Holland*, they maintained a peaceable Trade in *Spain*, and abuſed us. This firſt Action of the *Hollanders* at Sea proved not very ſucceſsful: For after the Spoil of a Town in the *Canary's*, and ſome Hurt done at the Iſland of St. *Ome*, they kept the Sea for ſome ſeven or eight months, in which time their General and moſt of their Men ſickned and died, and the reſt returned with Loſs and Shame. Another Benefit which we received by this Preparation, was, that our Men were now taught ſuddainly to Arme, every man knowing his Command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of: and who knows not, that ſudden and falſe Alarms in an Army, are ſometimes neceſſary? To ſay truth, the Expedition which was then uſed in drawing together ſo great an Army by Land, and rigging ſo great and Royal a Navy to Sea in ſo little a ſpace of Time, was ſo admirable in other Countreys, that they received a Terror by it; and many that came from beyond Sea, ſaid, the Queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing ſhe ever did.

French-men that came Aboard our Ships, did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her Majeſty had rigged, victualled and furniſhed her Royal Ships to Sea in 12 days time: And *Spain*, as an Enemy, had reaſon to fear, and grieve to ſee this ſuddain Preparation; but more, when they underſtood how the Hearts of Her Majeſty's Subjects joyned with their Hands, being all ready to ſpend their deareſt Blood for her and her Service. *Holland* might likewiſe ſee, that if they became inſolent, we could be aſſoon provided as they; nor did they expect to find ſuch celerity in any Nation but themſelves.

It is probable too, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, were hereby drawn to entertain Thoughts of Peace: For as ſoon as our Fleet was at Sea, a Gentleman was ſent from *Bruſſells*, with ſome Overtures, although for that time they ſucceeded not. However, whether it was, that the intended Invaſion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her Majeſty was fully ſatisfied of my Lord of *Eſſex*, I know not; but ſo it was, that ſhe commanded the ſuddain Return of her Ships from Sea, after they had layn three weeks or a month in the *Downs*.

Sir Richard Lewſon *to the Iſlands*, *Anno Dom.* 1600.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe	*Sir Richard Lewſon*
The Warſpight	*Capt. Troughton*
The Vauntguard	*Capt. Sommers.*

THE laſt Year, as you have heard, put all men in expectation of War, which yet came to nothing. This Summer gave us great hope of Peace; but with the like effect: For by conſent of the Queen, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, their Commiſſioners met at *Bulloign* in *Piccardie*, to treat of Peace; a place choſen indifferently, the *French* King being

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ing in League and Friendſhip with them all. Whether this Treaty were intended but in ſhew only, or, that they were out of hopes, to come to any concluſion; or, what elſe was the true and real cauſe of its breaking off ſo ſuddenly, I know not; but the pretence was but ſlender, for there grew a difference about Precedency, betwixt the two Crowns, though it was ever due to *England*; and ſo the hopes of Peace were fruſtrated, though had it been really intended, matters might eaſily have been accommodated.

The Queen ſuſpecting the Event hereof, before their meeting, and the rather, becauſe the *Spaniards* entertained her with the like Treaty, in 1588 when at the ſame inſtant, his Navy appeared upon her Coaſt to Invade her; therefore, leaſt ſhe ſhould be guilty of too great ſecurity, in relying upon the ſucceſs of this doubtful Treaty, ſhe furniſhed the Three Ships before named, under pretence to guard the Weſtern Coaſt, which at that time was infeſted by the *Dunkirkers*.

And becauſe there ſhould be the leſs notice taken, part of the Victuals was provided at *Plymouth*; and Sir *Richard Lewſon*, who was then Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was appointed General, for the more ſecret carriage of the buſineſs; ſo as it could not be conjectured, either by their Victualling, or by their Captain, being Admiral of the Narrow Seas, that it was a Service from home. As they were in a readineſs at *Plymouth*, expecting Orders, the Queen being fully ſatisfied, that the Treaty of *Bulloign* would break off without effect, ſhe commanded Sir *Richard Lewſon* to haſten to the Iſlands, there to expect the Carrecks, and *Mexico* Fleet. The *Spaniards* on the other ſide, being as circumſpect to prevent a miſchief, as we were ſubtil to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the Treaty of Peace would prove a vain, hopeleſs ſhew of what was never meant, they furniſhed Eighteen tall Ships to the Iſlands, as they had uſually done, ſince the Year 1591. The General of this Fleet was *Don Diego de Borachero*.

Our Ships coming to the Iſlands, they and the *Spaniards* had intelligence of one another, but not the ſight, for that Sir *Richard Lewſon* hailed Sixty Leagues Weſtward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the Carrecks, and *Mexico* Fleet, before they could join them: But the Carrecks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another, in 1591. had ever ſince that year, endeavored to ſhun the ſight of that Iſland; ſo that our Fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain, than Actions at Sea, where Ships are to meet one another caſually) they returned home, having conſumed time and Victuals, to no purpoſe, and ſeen not ſo much as one Sail, from the time they quitted the Coaſt of *England*, till their return, two Ships of *Holland* excepted, that came from the *Eaſt Indies* (for then began their Trade thither) which Ships Sir *Richard Lewſon* relieved, finding them in great diſtreſs and want.

Sir Richard Lewſon *into* Ireland, *Anno* 1601.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Warſight	*Sir Richard Lewſon*
The Garland	*Sir Amias Preſton*
The Defiance	*Capt. Goer*
The Swiftſure	*Capt. Sommers*
The Crane	*Capt. Mainwaring*

IN the Year 1600. and part of the Year 1601. there was a kind of ceſſation from Arms, though not by agreement, for this Year gave a hope of Peace; which failing, the former courſe of annoying each other was revived; we in relieving the *Low Countries*, the *Spaniards* in aſſiſting the Rebels in *Ireland*. This was the Summer, that the Arch-Duke beſieged *Oſtend*, which was bravely defended, but principally, by the Supplies out of *England*. And towards Winter, when the *Spaniards* thought we leaſt looked for War, *Don Diego de Borachero*, with 48 Sail of Ships, and 4000 Soldiers was ſent to Invade *Ireland*.

In his way thither he loſt the company of his Vice-Admiral, *Siriago*, who returned to the *Groyn*, which when the King heard, he was much diſtaſted with *Siriago*, and commanded him upon his Allegiance, to haſten with all ſpeed for *Ireland*, as he was formerly directed; *Don Diego*, his Landing being known in *England*, when it was too late to prevent it; yet, leaſt he ſhould be ſupplied with further Forces, Sir *Richard Lewſon* valiantly entred the Harbor, drew near their Fortifications, and fought the Enemy for the ſpace of one whole day, his Ship being an Hundred times ſhot through, and yet but Eight men ſlain. God ſo bleſt him, that he prevailed in his Enterprize, deſtroyed their whole Shipping, and made *Siriago* fly by Land into another Harbor, where he obſcurely Imbarqued himſelf in a *French* Veſſel, for *Spain*. All this while was the main Army, which Landed with their General, *Don Juan de Aquila*, ſeated in *Kinſale*, expecting the aid of *Tyroen*, who promiſed every day to be with him. Our Army commanded by the Lord *Montjoy*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, beſieged the Town, ſo that he prevented their meeting, and many skirmiſhes paſt betwixt them.

The Siege continued, with great miſeries to both the Armies, and not without cauſe, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, and the condition of the Country, that afforded little relief to either: ſome few days before Chriſtmas, *Tyroen* appeared with his Forces, which was ſome little heartning to the Enemy, in hopes to be freed of their Impriſonment, for ſo may I call it, they were ſo ſtrictly beleagured. The day of agreement, betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Tyroen*, was Chriſtmas Eve, on which day, there happened an Earthquake in *England*; and, as many times ſuch Signs prove *aut bonum, aut malum Omen*; this proved Fortunate to us, the Victory being obtained, with ſo little loſs, as it is almoſt incredible.

This was the day of Tryal, whether *Ireland* ſhould continue a parcel of our Crown, or no; for if the Enemy had prevailed in the Battel, and a Treaty had not afterwards obtained more then Force, it was to be feared, *Ireland* would hardly have been ever recovered. The *Spaniards* in *Ireland*, ſeeing

ſeeing the ſucceſs of *Tyroen*, and the impoſſibility for him to re-inforce his Army, being hopeleſs of ſupplies out of *Spain*, and their Poverty daily increaſing, they made offers of a Parly, which was granted, and after enſued a Peace there: The Conditions whereof are extant in Print. They were furniſhed with Ships, and ſecured of their Paſſage into *Spain*, where arriving in *Engliſh* Veſſels, the Ships returned back for *England*.

Sir Richard Lewſon, *and Sir* William Monſon, *to the Coaſt of* Spain, *Anno* 1602.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe	*Sir Richard Lewſon, Admiral*
The Garland	*Sir Will. Monſon, Vice-Admiral.*
The Defiance	*Capt. Goer*
The Mary Roſe	*Capt. Slingsby*
The Warſpight	*Capt. Sommers*
The Nonperil	*Capt. Reynolds*
The Dreadnought	*Capt. Mainwaring*
The Adventure	*Capt. Trevor*
The Engliſh Carvel	*Capt. Sawkel*

THE laſt Attempt of the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* awakened the Queen, who, it ſeemeth for two or three Years together, entertained the Hopes of Peace, and therefore was ſparing in ſetting forth her Fleets. But now perceiving the Enemy had found the way into *Ireland*; and that it behoved her to be more vigilant than ever; ſhe reſolved, as the ſafeſt courſe to infeſt the *Spaniſh* Coaſts with a continual Fleet; and in this year furniſhed the Ships aforeſaid, having Promiſe from the States of *Holland*, to joyn to them twelve Sail of theirs; and becauſe this important Service required great ſpeed, ſhe had not time enough to man them, or ſupply them with Proviſions altogether ſo well as they were uſually wont to be; but was content with what could be gotten in ſo ſhort a warning, ſo deſirous was ſhe to ſee her Ships at Sea.

Sir *Richard Lswſon* ſet ſail with five of them the 19*th.* of *March*, and left Sir *William Monſon* behind with the other four, to attend the coming of the *Hollanders*: though within two or three days after, Sir *William* received Command from the Queen, to haſten with all ſpeed to Sir *Richard Lewſon*; for that ſhe was advertiſed, that the Silver Ships were arrived at the *Tercera's*. Sir *William Monſon* hereupon neglected no time, nor ſtayed either to ſee himſelf better Manned, or his Ships better furniſhed; but put to Sea the 26*th.* of *March*.

This Intelligence of the Queen's was true: For the Plate Fleet had been at the *Tercera's*, and departing from thence, in their Courſe for *Spain*, Sir *Richard Lewſon*, with his few Ships, met them; but to little purpoſe, wanting the reſt of his Fleet, and the help of the 12 *Hollanders*. We may very well account this not the leaſt Error or Negligence that hath been committed in our Voyages: For if the *Hollanders* had kept touch according to Promiſe, and the Queen's Ships had been fitted out with Care, we had made her Majeſty Miſtreſs of more Treaſure than any of her Progenitors ever enjoyed.

Sir

Sir *Richard Lewſon's* Deſign againſt the *Indian* Fleet, notwithſtanding his Renowned Valor, being thus fruſtrated, and by the *Hollanders* ſlackneſs croſſed, he plied towards the Rock, to meet Sir *William Monſon*, as the place reſolved on between them; but Sir *William* having ſpent 14 days thereabouts, and hearing no Tidings of him, went round to the *Southward Cape*, where he was likewiſe fruſtrated of a moſt promiſing Hope: For meeting with certain *French-men* and *Scots*, at the ſame inſtant, he deſcried three Ships of ours, ſent by Sir *Richard* to look him. Theſe *French* and *Scottiſh* Ships came from St. *Lucas*, and made report of five Gallions, ready the next Tide to ſet ſail for the *Indies*: They likewiſe told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went *Don Petro de Valdes*, to be Governor of the *Havana*, who had ſometimes been Priſoner in *England*.

Theſe two later Ships were met one Night by the *Warſpight*, whereof Capt. *Sommers* was Commander; but whether it was by the Darkneſs of the Night, or by what other Caſualty (for the Sea is ſubject to many) I know not, but they eſcaped.

This News of the five Gallions, and the three Ships of the Queen's ſo happily meeting together, made Sir *William* direct his Courſe into the heighth wherein the *Spaniards* were moſt likely to ſail in; and coming into that heighth, he had ſight of five Ships, which in reſpect of their Number and Courſe, he made reckoning to be the five Gallions; and thought that day ſhould fully determine and try the difference between the Strength and Puiſſance of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Ships, their number and greatneſs being equal: But his Joy was ſoon quailed: For coming up with them, he found them to be *Engliſh* Ships coming out of the *Streights*, and bound home; but yet this did not diſcourage the Hope he had conceived that the *Spaniards* might be met withall; and the next day he gave Chaſe to one Ship alone that came out of the *Indies*, which he took, though he had been better without her: For ſhe brought him ſo far to Leeward, that that Night the Gallions paſſed to Wind-ward, not above eight or ten Leagues off us, by report of an *Engliſh* Pinnace that met them, who came into our Company the day following. Theſe Misfortunes lighting firſt upon Sir *Richard*, and after upon Sir *William*, might have been ſufficient Reaſons to diſcourage them; but they knowing the Accidents of the Sea, and that Fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good Ships under foot, their Men ſound and in health, and plenty of Victuals, they did not doubt but that ſome of the Wealth which the *Indies* ſent forth into *Spain* would fall to their Shares.

Upon *Tueſday*, the firſt of *June*, to begin our new Fortune with a new Month, Sir *Richard Lewſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, who ſome few Nights before had met accidentally in the Sea, were cloſe on board the Rock, where they took two Ships of the *Eaſt* Country, bound for *Liſbon*; and while they were romaging theſe Ships, they deſcried a Carvel from *Cape Picher* bearing with them; which by Signs ſhe made, they perceived had a deſire to ſpeak with them. Sir *Richard* immediately chaſed her, and left Sir *William* with the two *Eaſterlings* to abide about the Rock till his return. The Carvel being fetcht up, made a relation of a Carreck and 11 Gallies to be in *Ciſembre* Road; and that ſhe was ſent by two Ships of ours, the *Nonperil* and the *Dreadnought* which lay thereabouts to look out the Admiral. With what Joy this News was apprehended may be eaſily imagined: Sir *Richard* made Signs to Sir *William* to ſtand with him; and leſt he ſhould not be diſcerned, he cauſed the Carvel to ply up with him, wiſhing him

to

to repair to him; but before they could approach the *Cape*, it was midnight, and nothing chanced all that time, but the exchanging of ſome Shot, that paſſed betwixt the Admiral and the Gallies.

Upon *Wedneſday*, the ſecond of *June*, every man looked early in the morning what Ships of her Majeſties were in ſight, which were five in number, the *Warſpight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was: For the *Repulſe* he had ſent for *England* ſome few days before, by reaſon of a Leak; the *Garland*, the *Nonperil*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, beſides the two *Eaſterlings* taken the day before. All the Captains reſorted on Board the Admiral, to counſel, which took up moſt part of the day. At firſt there was an Oppoſition by ſome, who alleadged the Danger and Impoſſibility of taking the Carreck, being defended by the Caſtle and 11 Gallies: But Sir *William Monſon* prevailed ſo far, as that all conſented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this Courſe following, that he and Sir *Richard* ſhould anchor as near the Carreck as they could, the reſt to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this occaſion, to be revenged of the Gallies, hoping to requite the Slavery they put him to when he was Priſoner in them; and ſingled himſelf from the Fleet a League, that the Gallies might ſee it was in defiance of them; and ſo the Marqueſs of St. *Cruz*, and *Frederick Spaniola*, the one General of the *Portugal*, the other of the *Spaniſh* Gallies, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within Shot, were diverted by one *John Bedford* an *Engliſh-man*, who undertook to know the Force of the Ship, and Sir *William* that commended her. Before I go farther, I will a little digreſs, and acquaint you with the Scituation of the Town, and the manner of placing the Gallies againſt us. The Town of *Ciſembre* lieth in the bottom of a Road, which is a good Succor for Ships with a *Northerly* Wind. It is built with Free-ſtone, and near the Sea is erected a ſtrong and ſpacious Fort, well repleniſhed with Ordnance: Above the Town, upon the top of a Hill, is ſeated an ancient, ſtrong Fryery, whoſe Scituation maketh it impregnable, and able to command the Town, Caſtle and Road; cloſe to the Shore lay the Carreck, like a Bullwork to the *Weſt* ſide of the Caſtle; ſo as it defended both that, and the *Eaſt* part of the Town: The 11 Gallies had flancked and fortified themſelves with the ſmall Neck of a Rock on the *Weſt* ſide of the Road, with their Prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a Cannon in their *Cruzia*, beſides other Pieces in their Prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our Ships came ſo nigh the Town, that all theſe Forces might play upon us in one inſtant.

The Gallies being placed to this great Advantage, they made account (as a Captain of one of them we took confeſs'd) to have ſunk our Ships of themſelves, without any farther Help. We ſaw the Tents pitched, and great Troops of Souldiers drawn together; which was no leſs than the whole Country in Arms againſt us: The Boats paſs'd betwixt the Shore and the Carreck all the day long, which we ſuppoſed was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to ſtrengthen her with Men and Munition: Here appeared many Difficulties and Dangers, and little hope of taking her; but rather of ſinking or burning her, as moſt men conjectured. The Danger from the Gallies was great, they being flancked with the point of a Rock at our Entrance, as you have heard, it being likewiſe calm, and they ſhooting low: Another Danger was, that of the Wind: For if it had come from the Sea, the Road being open, and the Bay deep, our Attempt muſt have been in vain. And notwithſtanding theſe, and many more apparently ſeen; and that there was no man but imagined, that moſt of the Car-

recks Lading was on ſhoar, and that they would hale her on ground, under the Caſtle, where no Ship of ours ſhould be able to fleet to her; all which objections, with many more, were alleadged, yet they little prevailed, procraſtination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition, they thought convenient to charge the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all at one inſtant. And they had determined, if the Carreck had been on ground, or ſo nigh the ſhoar, that the Queens Ships could not fleet to her, that the Two Eaſterlings, the day before taken, ſhould Board her, and Burn her.

Thurſday the Third day, early in the morning, every man commending himſelf to God's Tuition and Protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A gale of Wind happening about Ten of the Clock, the Admiral weighed; ſhot off a Warning-piece, and put forth his Flag in the Maintop: the Vice-Admiral did the like in his Foretop, according to the Cuſtome of the Sea; every Captain encouraged his men, which ſo imboldened them, as though they were grown weak and feeble before, they were now revived, and beſtirred themſelves, as if a new Spirit had been infuſed into them; the Admiral was the firſt that gave the charge, after him followed the reſt of the Ships, ſhewing great Valor, and gaining great Honor; the laſt of all, was the Vice-Admiral, at whoſe entrance into the Fight, he ſtill ſtrived to get up as near the ſhoar as he could, where he came to an Anchor, continually fighting with the Town, the Fort, the Gallies, and Carreck, all together, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his Broad Sides upon them; there might be ſeen the Proweſs of the Gallies, ſwim by the ſides of them, the Slaves forſake them, and every thing in confuſion amongſt them, and thus they Fought, till Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Vice-Admiral was Anchored to ſuch an advantage, as the Gallies rowed from one ſide to another, ſeeking to ſhun him, which Sir *Richard Lewſon* obſerving, came on Board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole Company, imbraced him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The reſt of the Ships, as they were directed, plied up, except the Admiral, who by the negligence of his Maſter, or ſome other impediment, when he ſhould have Anchored, fell ſo far to Leeward, as the Wind and Tide carried him out of the Road, ſo that it was the next day, before his Ship could be fetcht in again; whereat the Admiral was much inraged, and put himſelf into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an Anchor cloſe to the Vice-Admiral, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon: There was no opportunity let paſs, for where the Admiral ſaw defect in any other Ship, he preſently cauſed it to be ſupplied, and the Eaſterlings, who were appointed to Board the Carrek, beginning to faint, and fail of obſerving the directions given them, the Vice-Admiral perceiving it, went on Board them himſelf, vowing, that if they ſeemed backward in putting in Execution the deſign of firing the Carreck, they ſhould look for as little Life from the *Engliſh*, as they could expect from the Enemy. Whilſt the Vice-Admiral was thus ordering things, Sir *Richard Lewſon* came to him, and would in no caſe ſuffer him to Board the Carreck himſelf, but carried him into the *Dreadnought*, where they conſulted how to preſerve the Carreck, and enjoy her.

The reſult of this Reference was, to offer her parley, which they preſently put in practice, and commanded all the Ships to leave ſhooting, until the return of the Meſſenger: The man imployed, was one Captain *Sewell*, who had

had eſcaped. and ſwam to us, having been Four Years Priſoner in the Gallies, and ſo did many *Turks* and Chriſtians; the effect of this Parley, was to perſuade them to yield, promiſing honorable Conditions, and he was to intimate, as from himſelf, that the Gallies, whoſe ſtrength they preſumed upon, were beaten, ſome burnt, the reſt fled; that we had the poſſeſſion of the Road, the Caſtle not being able to abide our Ordinance, much leſs the Carreck, and if they refuſed this offer of Mercy, they were to expect all the Cruelty and Rigor, that a Conpueror could impoſe upon his Enemy: After ſome Conference to this effect, the Captain of the Carreck told him, He would ſend ſome Gentlemen of Quality, with Commiſſion to Treat, and deſired, that ſome of the like Quality from us, might repair to him, to the ſame purpoſe.

Theſe Gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were, attending the return and ſucceſs of Captain *Sewell*; after the delivery of their Meſſage, they would needs haſten on Board the Carreck again, for that, as it ſeemed, there was an uproar and a diviſion in her, ſome being of opinion to entertain a Parley, others to ſave themſelves, and ſet her on fire: which Sir *William Monſon* hearing, without further delay, or conference, with Sir *Richard*, what was to be done, he leaped ſuddenly into his Boat, and rowed unto the Carreck; when he drew near to her, he was known by diverſe Gentlemen on Board her, he having once been a Priſoner among them: they ſeemed to be very glad of this meeting, and their paſſed diverſe Imbracements between them, in remembrance of their old acquaintance: The Captain was called *Don Diego de Lobo*, a Gallant young Gentleman, of a Noble Houſe. He deſcended down upon the bend of the Ship, and commanded his men to ſtand aſide; Sir *William* did the like to his company, in the Boat; the Captain demanded of him, if he had the *Portugal* Language; he told him, he had ſufficient to Treat of that buſineſs; acquainted him of the Place he commanded in the Fleet, intimated the affection and reſpect he bore the *Portugal* Nation, and that the Treaty which was offered, proceeded out of his motion, and wiſhed him to make his propoſals, which were as followeth, The firſt demand he made, was, *That they ſhould be ſafely put on ſhoar with their Arms.* The Second, *That it ſhould be done the ſame Night.* The Third, *That they ſhould enjoy their Ship and Ordinance, as appertaining to the King, but we the Wealth.* The Fourth, *That the Flag and Ancient ſhould not be taken down, but worn while the Carreck was unlading.* His Speech being ended, Sir *William* told him, *That his Demands gave ſuſpition, that under pretence of Parley, they meant Treachery, or that their hopes were greater, than there was cauſe; and, but that he knew it was the uſe of ſome men, to demand great things, when leſs will ſerve them, he would not loſe his advantage, to entertain a Parley*; he deſired, that what they intended, might be quickly concluded, for Night growing on, might advantage them, and for his Reſolution, he ſhould underſtand it in few words, *viz.* To his firſt Demand, *He was willing to yeild, That they ſhould be put on ſhoar with their Arms.* To the Second, *That he was contented, that they ſhould be ſet on ſhoar that Night, except Eight or Ten of the Principal Gentlemen, whom he would detain Three Days.* To the Third, *He held it idle and frivolous, to imagine, he would conſent to ſeparate Ship and Goods, and eſteemed it* Por Coſa de burla. To the Fourth, *He would not conſent, being reſolved, never to permit a* Spaniſh *Flag to be worn in the preſence of the Queens Ships, unleſs it were diſgracefully, over the Poop.* There was long expoſtulations upon theſe points, and Sir *William Monſon* ſeeing the obſtinacy of the Captain, offered, in a great rage, to leap into his Boat, reſolving to break the Treaty, which the

the reſt of the Gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well ſtand with their Reputation, they intreated him once more to aſcend into the Carreck, and they would enter into new Capitulations: The effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were theſe that follow;

That a Meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the Admiral, to have his Confirmation of the points concluded on; and that in the mean time the Flag and Ancient ſhould be taken down; and if the Admiral ſhould not conſent to the Agreement, they to have leiſure to put out their Flag and Ancient tofore the Fight ſhould begin. That the Company ſhould be preſently ſet on Shore; but the Captain, with eight other of the principal Gentlemen three days after. That the Ship with her Goods, ſhould be ſurrendered without any Practice or Treaſon. That they ſhould uſe their endeavors, that the Caſtle ſhould forbear ſhooting whilſt we rid in the Road; and this was the effect of the Conditions agreed upon. This Carreck Wintered in *Moſambicke*, in her return from the *Indies*, a place of great Infection, as appeared by the Mortality among them: For of 600 and odd men, twenty of them lived not to return Home. After a great deal of Calamity and Mortality, ſhe arrived at this Port of *Ciſembre*, as you have heard, the Viceroy of *Portugal*, having ſent 11 Gallies to her Reſcue, and 400 *mocas de Camera*, which is a Title of Gentlemen that ſerve the King upon any Honourable Occaſion, when they are commanded. That ſhe was brought to this paſs, and forc'd to yield on theſe Conditions, Sir *Robert Cecil* was wont to impute to the Gentlemens Acquaintance with Sir *William Monſon*. Although three days were limited for ſetting the Captain on Shore, yet it was held Diſcretion not to detain them longer than untill the Carreck was brought off ſafely to our Ships; and therefore Sir *William Monſon* having carried the Captain, and the reſt of the Gentlemen on board him, where they Supped, had variety of Muſick, and ſpent the Night in great Jollity; the Morning following, accompanied them on Shore himſelf, whither the *Conde de Vitagera* had drawn down all the Force of the whole Country, amounting to the number of 10000 men.

I muſt not omit to deſcribe the Behavior of the Gallies in the Fight, that every Man may have that Honor that is due to him: Thoſe of *Portugal*, being of the Squadron of the Marqueſs of St. *Cruz*, betook themſelves, with their General, to Flight in the middle of the Fight; but *Frederico Spinola*, who was to convey his Gallies out of *Spain* into the Low Countreys, followed not the Example of the Marqueſs, but made good the Road; which the other ſeeing, with Shame returned; but to both their Coſts: for before they departed, they found the Climate ſo hot, as they were forc'd to fly, their Gallies being ſo miſerably beaten, and their Slaves ſo pitifully ſlain, as there wanted nothing but Boats to poſſeſs them all, as well as the two we took and burnt; which is a thing hath been ſeldom ſeen or heard of, for Ships to take and deſtroy Gallies. The number of Men ſlain in the Town, the Caſtle, the Carreck and Gallies, are unknown, though they could not chuſe but be many; the Wealth of the Carreck could then as ill be eſtimated, though after found to be great; the Value of the two Gallies burnt with their Loading of Powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a Service of great Importance. For our Loſs, it was not much, only one man killed in the Fly-Boat, five ſlain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*: Sir *William Monſon* had the left Wing of his Doublet ſhot off, but received no other Hurt.

The

The day following, with a favourable Wind, we ſtood our Courſe for *England*, which brought us into 47 Degrees; and there we met a Pinnace, ſent with a Pacquet from the Lords, ſignifying the readineſs of a ſecond Fleet to ſupply us, and the ſetting out of the *Hollanders*, which were ſo long looked for; which Fleet of *Holland* was in View of the Pinnace the ſame Night; but paſs'd by us unſeen. This unlooked for Accident made the Admiral and Vice-Admiral conſider what to do, and concluded, they could not both appear at Home, and have a Fleet of ſo great Importance upon the Enemies Coaſt without a Guide or Head; and therefore they held it fit the Vice-Admiral ſhould put himſelf into the *Nonperil*, as the ableſt Ship of the Fleet, and make his Return once more to the Coaſt of *Spain*; but he having taken his Leave, and ſtanding his Courſe for the Coaſt, a moſt violent Storm, with a contrary Wind took him, which continued ten days, and diſcovered the weakneſs of his Ship, who had like to have foundered in the Deep. The Carpenters and Company ſeeing the apparent Danger, if he bore not up before the Wind, preſented him with a Petition, beſeeching him to have a regard to their Lives; for by keeping the Seas they ſhould all periſh. Thus was he forc'd by mere Extremity to bear room for *England*; and coming for *Plymouth*, he found the Carreck ſafely arrived, and the Fleet he went back to take Charge of, not to have quitted the Coaſt of *England*.

Though it be ſomewhat impertinent to this Voyage, to treat of more than the Succeſs thereof; yet I will a little digreſs, and relate the Miſhap of that worthy Young Gentleman *Don Diego de Lobo*, Captain of the Carreck; and becauſe his Worth will more appear by his Anſwer to Sir *William Monſon*'s Offer to him when he was his Priſoner; thus it was: Sir *William Monſon* told him, he doubted, that by the loſs of the Carreck, he had loſt his beſt Means; for that he ſuppoſed, what he had gained in the *Indies*, was laden in her; and therefore offered, that what he would challenge upon his Reputation to be his own, he ſhould have Freedom to carry along with him. The Gentleman acknowledged the Favor to be extraordinary; but replied, that what he had, he had gained by his Sword; and that his Sword, he doubted not, would repair his Fortunes again, utterly refuſing to accept any Courteſie in that kind: But, poor Gentleman, ill Fortune thus left him not: For the Viceroy, *Don Criſtoball de Moro*, holding it for a great indignity to have the Carreck taken out of the Port, that was defended by a Caſtle, and guarded with 11 Gallies, and eſpecially in his hearing of the Ordnance to *Lisbon*, and in the view of thouſands of People who beheld it; ſome of them feeling it too, by the loſs of their Goods that were in her, others grieving for the Death of their Friends that were ſlain; but every man finding himſelf touched in Reputation.

The Names of the Carrecks and Eleven Gallies.

The St. Valentine, *a Carreck of one Thouſand ſeven Hundred Tuns.*
The Chriſtopher, *the Admiral of* Portugal, *wherein the Marqueſs* de Santa Cruz *went.*
The St. Lewis, *wherein* Frederick Spinola *went General of the Gallies of* Spain.
The Forteleza, *Vice-Admiral to the Marqueſs.*
The Trividad, *Vice-Admiral to* Frederick Spinola, *burnt.*
The Snis, *in which Sir* William Monſon *was Priſoner*, 1591.
The Occaſion *burnt, and the Captain taken Priſoner.*
The St. John *Baptiſt.*
The Lazear.
The Padillar.
The Philip.
The St. John.

And the Viceroy not knowing how to clear himſelf ſo well, as the laying it upon the Gentlemen he put on Board her, the ſame Night they returned to their Lodging, he cauſed the moſt part of them, with their Captain, to be apprehended, imputing the loſs of the Carreck to their Cowardiſe and Fear, if not Treaſon and Connivance with the Enemy. After ſome time of Impriſonment, by mediation of Friends, all the Gentlemen were releaſed but the Captain, who received ſecret Advice, that the Viceroy intended his Death, and that he ſhould ſeek by Eſcape to prevent it. *Don Diego* being thus perplexed, practiſed with his Siſter, who finding means for his Eſcape out of a Window, he fled into *Italy*, where he lived in Exile, from 1602. when this happened, untill 1615. His Government in the *Indies*, for which he had a Patent in Reverſion, was confiſcate, and he left hopeleſs ever to return into his Native Country, much leſs to be reſtored to his Command; an ill Welcome after ſo long and painful a Navigation. Having thus ſpent thirteen years in Exile, at the laſt he adviſed with Friends, whoſe Councel he followed, to repair into *England*, there to enquire after ſome Commanders, that had been at the taking of the Carreck, by whoſe Certificate he might be cleared of Cowardiſe or Treaſon in the loſs of her, which would be a good Motive to reſtore him to his Government again. In the Year 1515. he arrived in *London*, and after ſome Enquiry found out Sir *William Monſon*, to whom he complained of his hard Miſhap, craving the Aſſiſtance of him and ſome others, whom Sir *William* knew to be at the taking of the Carreck, and deſired him to teſtifie the manner of ſurprizing her, which he alleadged, was no more than one Gentleman was bound to afford another in ſuch a caſe.

Sir *William* wondered to ſee him, and eſpecially upon ſuch an Occaſion: For the preſent, he entertained him with all Courteſie; and the longer his ſtay was in *England*, the Courteſies were the greater, which Sir *William* did him. Sir *William* procured him a true and effectual Certificate from himſelf, Sir *Francis Howard*, Captain *Barlow*, and ſome others who were Witneſſes of that Service; and to give it the more Reputation, he cauſed it to be inrolled in the Office of the Admiralty. The Gentleman being well ſatisfied with his Entertainment, and having what he deſired, returned to *Flanders*, where

where he preſented his Certificate to the Arch-Duke and the *Infanta*, by whoſe means he got Aſſurance, not only of the King's Favor, but of Reſtitution likewiſe to his Government. The poor Gentleman having been thus toſſed by the Waves of Calamity, from one Country to another, and never finding reſt; Death that maſters all men, now cut him off ſhort, in the midſt of his hopes, as he was preparing his Journy for *Spain*; and this was an end of an unfortunate gallant young Gentleman, whoſe Deſerts might juſtly have challenged a better reward, if God had pleaſed to afford it him.

Sir William Monſon *to the Coaſt of* Spain, *Anno* 1602.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Swiftſure	*Sir Will. Monſon*
The Mary Roſe	*Capt. Trevers*
The Dreadnought	*Capt. Cawfield*
The Adventure	*Capt. Norris*
The Anſwer	*Capt. Brodgate*
The Quittance	*Capt. Browne*
The Lions Whelp	*Capt. May*
The Paragon, A Merchant.	*Capt. Jaſon*
A ſmall Carvel	*Capt. Hooper*

THe Fleet of Sir *Richard Lewſon* being happily returned, with the fortune of a Carreck, as you have heard, and the Queen having now no Ships upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, to impeach the Enemies preparations, ſhe feared, the Fleet which was ready at the *Groyne*, would give a Second Aſſault upon *Ireland*; whereupon Sir *William Monſon*, who by this time was arrived at *Plymouth*, was ſent for in great haſte, by her Majeſty, to adviſe about, and take on him the charge of the Fleet, then at *Plymouth*. After a long Conference with Sir *William Monſon*, in the preſence of her Majeſty, her Lord Admiral, Treaſurer, and Secretary, it was Reſolved, That Sir *William* ſhould repair to *Plymouth*, and with all ſpeed get forth thoſe Ships, and others that were there making ready. His directions were, to preſent himſelf before the Harbor of the *Groyne*, being the place where the *Spaniards* made their Randevouz, and if he found any likelihood of a deſign upon *Ireland*, not to quit that Coaſt untill he ſaw the Iſſue, but if he found *Ireland* ſecure, and the Enemies preparations to be intended only for defence of their own Coaſts, then his inſtructions led him thence, to the place where the *Holland* Fleet had order to attend, and expect him; and afterwards, the whole carriage of the Action was referred to his diſcretion, but with this caution, that above all reſpects of other profit or advantage, he attended the affair of *Ireland*. The Wind this part of the Summer hung contrary, and it was Six Weeks before he could clear the Coaſt, during which time, he loſt his greateſt hopes, by the return of the Carrecks of the *Indian* Fleet, which happened a full Month before his arrival: He ſet Sail from *Plymouth* the laſt of *Auguſt*, with a ſcant Wind, which continued with foul Weather, untill

untill he recovered the *Groyne*, chooſing rather to keep the Sea, then hazard the overthrow of the Voyage by his return.

He ſtayed at the *Groyne*, until he underſtood that the Fleet which was ſuſpected to be prepared for *Ireland*, was gone to *Lisbone*, to join with *Don Diego de Borachero*, who all that Summer durſt not budge forth, for fear of our Fleet, that made good the Coaſt thereabouts: Sir *William* in his way to the Rock, commanded his Carvel to repair to the Iſlands of *Bayon*, as the likelieſt place to procure Intelligence of the State of thoſe parts; as the Carvel drew near the Iſlands, he diſcerned the *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of Twenty Four Sail, whoſe deſign was, as ſhe underſtood by a Boat ſhe took, to look out the *Engliſh* Fleet, whoſe comming they daily expected upon the Coaſt; and meeting Sir *William* with this news, he held it a good Service to be thus warned of them. Here he took two goodly Ships of *France*, bound for *Lisbone*, which Harbor he put them from, and took Pledges, that they ſhould directly return into *France*, without touching in any Harbor of *Spain*, for that he underſtood, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ill provided of men, and many other things which theſe Ships could ſupply. Sir *William* and the *Dreadnought*, were carried with a chaſe into the Road of *Ciſimbre*, where the Carreck was taken not long before, and after ſome Fight with the Caſtle, who defended the Veſſel chaſed, they came to a friendly Treaty, and Preſents paſt between them.

That Night, while the Admiral rid in the Road, a Carvel comming in, not miſtruſting him, was taken, but diſmiſſed in a friendly manner; by whom he underſtood the affairs of *Lisbone*, but could get no notice of the *Holland* Fleet, which was appointed to attend at the Rock, whither once more he repaired.

Coming thither the 26*th* of *September*, a light was eſpied in the Night, which the Admiral chaſed, thinking it had been the Fleet of St. *Omer*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbone*, where they were expected; but drawing ſo near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeneſs of their Veſſels, and the number which anſwered the relation the Carvel made, to be the *Armado* of *Spain*: whereupon he ſought means how to clear himſelf, being ingaged amongſt them, and made a *Spaniard* which ſerved him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only, and the *Whelp*, were left with him, the reſt loſing company, Four nights before in a Storm; the Enemy perceiving our lights, and thinking it to be ſome Fleet of *Flemmings*, ſtood in amongſt us, but the *Adventure* being diſcovered to be an Enemy, the Alarum was ſoon taken, and they ſhot at her, and ſlew and hurt ſome of her men; as ſoon as the day appeared, the *Spaniards* beheld the Three *Engliſh* Ships a head them, which they chaſed, and Three of them, which were better of Sail than the reſt, fetcht upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of ſmall Force to reſiſt them.

But the Admiral reſolving, though it was to his own evident Peril, not to ſee a Pinnace of her Majeſties ſo loſt, if ſo be he could reſcue her with the loſs of his Life, though it was much againſt the perſuaſions of his Maſter, and company, he ſtroak his two Sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to ſtand her courſe, while he ſtaid for the Three *Spaniſh* Ships, with hope to make them have little liſt to purſue us: The Admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his Three Ships, in that he lingered for their coming up, took in with the ſhoar, and ſhot off a peice for his Three Ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by ſeveral other expeditions of ours, how much the ſwift Sailing of Ships doth avail, being the principal advantage in Sea Service, and indeed the main thing we could preſume upon,

on, in our War againſt the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus eſcaped the Enemy, in his traverſe at Sea, there happened, as there doth upon all Coaſts, where there is plenty of Trade, divers occaſions of chaſes; and one day Sir *William* following one Ship, and the *Adventure* another, they loſt company for the whole Voyage.

Sir *William* was advertiſed by a Ship he took, being a *Frenchman*, who came from St. *Lucas*, that the St. *Domingo* Fleet was looked for daily, which Intelligence made him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his Fleet.

He was no ſooner come to the *Cape*, but he was informed by ſome *Engliſh* men of War, that the *Domingo* Fleet was paſt by two days before; here he met with Ships of ſeveral Nations, ſome he reſcued from Pirats, and to others that were in League with her Majeſty, he gave his ſafe conduct, for their free paſſage on the Sea; he kept that Coaſt until the 21*th* of *October*, on which morning he gave chaſe to a Gallion of the King of *Spain*, who recovered the Caſtle of *Cape Sacre*, before he could fetch her up; although he knew the ſtrength of the Caſtle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the fear and cowardize of him at the Helm, who bore up, when he was ready to Board her: The Fight was not long, but ſharp and dangerous, for there never paſt ſhot between them, till they were within a Ships length one of another: The Caſtle plaid her part, and tore his Ship, ſo that a man might have crept through her: Between the Caſtle and Gallion, they ſlew in the Admiral Ten men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Sireago* and his Quadron, to the *Weſtward*, and of divers *Engliſh* men of War, to the *Eaſtward*, who durſt not put themſelves upon the reſcue of Sir *William*, for fear of the Caſtle: Sir *William* being now left alone, and ſeeing what head Land ſoever he came unto, he was to encounter a *Spaniſh* Squadron, ſtood his courſe that night to Sea, thinking to try, if the Iſlands of *Terceras* would afford him any better Fortune, but coming within Forty or Fifty Leagues of the Iſlands, he was taken ſhort with the Wind, yet ſtill bearing up what he could for the Rock; but at length finding his Victuals grew ſhort, his Maſt periſhed, and the dangers he was expoſed to, by keeping that Coaſt, he directed his courſe for *England*, and came to *Plymouth*, the 24*th* of *November*, where he found the *Mary-roſe* and *Dreadnought*, moſt part of their men being dead or ſick.

The *Adventure* arrived within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell, fell amongſt the *Braizl* Fleet, and encountring with them, loſt divers men, but took none: The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a Prize of Sugar, and Spices, which countervailed the charge of the Voyage. The *Quittance* in her return, met Two Ships of *Dunkirk*, and in fight with them, her Captain was ſlain, but ſhe acquitted her ſelf very well, without further harm. This Fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the Enemy buſied at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of *Ireland*; what hazard it endured by the Enemy, the fury of the Sea, and foul Weather, doth appear; and no marvel; for it was the lateſt Fleet in Winter, that ever kept upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, as it was likewiſe the laſt Fleet her Majeſty imployed; for in *March* after ſhe died, and by her Death all War ceaſed. As Sir *William Monſon* was General of this laſt Fleet, ſo was he a Soldier, and a Youth, at the beginning of the Wars, and was at the taking of the firſt *Spaniſh* Prize, that ever ſaw the *Engliſh* Coaſt, which yet was purchaſed with the loſs of Twenty Five of our men, beſides Fifty hurt. This Prize was afterwards a Man of War, and ſerved againſt the *Spaniards*, and was in thoſe days reckoned the beſt Ship of War we had; ſhe was called

the Commander, and belonged to Sir *George Carew*, then Governor of the Isle of *Wight*.

Sir Richard Lewſon *and Sir* William Monſon *into the Narrow Seas, Anno* 1603.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe	*Sir Richard Lewſon*
The Mere-honor	*Sir William Monſon*
The Defiance	*Capt. Goer*
The Warſpight	*Capt. Seymers*
The Rainbow	*Capt. Trevor*
The Dreadnought	*Capt. Reynolds*
The Quittance	*Capt. Howard*
The Lyons Whelp	*Capt. Polwheele*

SIR *William Monſon* returning with his Fleet, in *November*, there was a Reſolution to furniſh another againſt *February*, which ſhould be recruited with freſh Ships, Men and Victuals in *June*. Sir *Richard Lewſon* was to command the former Fleet, and Sir *William Monſon* the later: For the Queen found it a Courſe both ſecure and profitable, to keep a continual Force upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, from *February* to *November*, that being the time of greateſt Peril to her Majeſty; and ſhe was the rather encouraged thereto, by the ſafty ſhe found the laſt Summer, and the Wealth and Riches ſhe had from time to time taken from the Enemy. The Complaint of the ill furniſhing out of her Ships in other Voyages, made it more carefully to be look'd unto now, and there was better Choice of Victuals and Men than uſually had been; but in the mean time, it pleaſed God to viſit her Majeſty with Sickneſs, which cauſed a ling'ring, though no abſolute diſſolving of the Fleet; but when her Danger was perceived to increaſe, the Ships were haſtened out to Sea, it being a point of good Policy, to keep our Seas guarded from any Forreign Attempt, untill his Majeſty ſhould be peaceably ſettled in *England*.

This Fleet departed from *Quinborough* the 22*th*. of *March*, and arrived in the *Downs* the 25*th*. of the ſame, being the day after her Majeſties Death: The News whereof, and Commandment to proclaim King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, our Lawful King, and the rightful Inheritor to the Crown, arrived both together; which put us into two contrary Paſſions, the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief for the Loſs of the Queen, Joy for accepting of the King in that peaceable manner, which was a Happineſs beyond all Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Deſign of this Fleet was to guard and defend our own Coaſts from any Incurſion that might be made out of *France* or the Low Countreys; ſo the Commanders were vigilant to appear on thoſe Coaſts once in two days, to diſhearten them, in caſe they had any ſuch Thought; but the truth is, it was beyond their Abilities, whatever was in their Hearts to impugn his Majeſty. And becauſe the Arch-Duke would make the Candidneſs of his Intention apparent to the World, he called in his Letters of Reprizal againſt the *Engliſh*; and publiſhed an

Edict

Edict for a free and unmoleſted Traffick into *Flanders*: So that now our Merchants might again trade peaceably into thoſe Parts from which they had been debarred the ſpace of Eighteen Years. The King finding, that *France* neither impeached his Right, nor gave any Jealouſie by the raiſing of an Army; and that the Arch-Duke made a Demonſtration of his deſire of Peace, his Majeſty did the like, acknowledging the League he had with thoſe Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars: For Wars betwixt Countreys are not hereditary; but commonly end with the Death of their Kings: Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their *Southern* Employment, and to repair to *Chatham*, giving manifeſt Teſtimonies, how deſirous he was that his Subjects ſhould recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly loſt by War.

F I N I S.